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**Sing for Covenantal Stability:
The Worldwide Significance of the Service of Levitical Singers
in the Book of Chronicles**

Submitted for the degree of PhD

Department of Theology and Religion

Durham University

2014

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Abstract

This study focuses on the Chronicler's special interest in Levitical singers. It takes into consideration the socio-ideological milieu of the Jerusalem temple community in the Persian period and the circumstantial Mesopotamian elite professional norms and practices that nourished the prominence of singers and music. It also explores the temple as realised template and the way in which it shaped the Chronicler's theological frame of reference for understanding the service of Levitical singers in Chronicles. The main thesis is that the service of Levitical singers involved a profound theological significance in their threefold service (educational, scribal, and liturgical) for promoting the conditions necessary for worldwide stability.

Chapter One sets the discussion in scholarly context and considers how my concerns have been previously under-explored. The research will be divided into two parts. Part I explains the flourishing of music in Chronicles through a circumstantial examination on the Mesopotamian scribal-musical background with two chapters. Chapter Two surveys the norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholars and singers. Chapter Three explains the way in which Jewish elite professionals socially engaged with Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture during the Babylonian exile; this influenced the ongoing intra-Jewish reflections of the temple as realised template and music in the temple community during the process of its identity making. Part II explains the Chronicler's ideological perspective with four chapters. Chapter Four examines the language of the temple as realised template in Chronicles. In Chapters Five to Seven, each chapter will be devoted respectively to the educational, scribal, and liturgical services of Levitical singers. Each considers how they sought to foster worldwide stability in the conditional terms of the Davidic covenant by focusing on the characterisation of the Levitical singers in light of the Mesopotamian counterparts.

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List of Abbreviations

1Chr	First Chronicles
1Kgs	First Kings
1Sam	First Samuel
2Chr	Second Chronicles
2Kgs	Second Kings
2Sam	Second Samuel
4QSam ^a	Qumran Samuel Scroll in cave 4
11QPs ^a	Qumran Psalm Scroll in cave 11
AAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
AB	The Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AH	von Soden, Wolfram, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965-81.
ANE	Ancient Near East
ANET	James B. Pritchard ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
AP	A. Cowley ed. <i>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1923.
APS	American Philosophical Society
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BCE	Before Common Era
BDB	<i>The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> . Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers Inc., 1906.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BIOSOS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BIW	The Bible in Its World
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry

BS	The Biblical Seminar
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	Gelb, Ignace J., Benno Landsberger, A. Leo Oppenheim, and Erica Reiner eds. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 21 Vols. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1971.
CANE	Jack M. Sasson ed. <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . Vols. 1-4. New York: Scribner, 1995.
CBC	The Cambridge Bible Commentary: New English Bible
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CBQ	<i>The Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CE	Common Era
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CR-BS	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CTM	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
CUP	Cambridge University Press
D	Deuteronomy or Deuteronomistic writer(s)
DJDJ	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
E	The Elohist
EBH	Early Biblical Hebrew
FAS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FTS	Freiburger theologische Studien
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion and Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
G	The Septuagint
G ^L	The Lucianic recension or the majority of the Lucianic manuscripts of the Septuagint
G ^A	Codex Alexandrinus of the Septuagint
G ^B	Codex Vaticanus of the Septuagint
GC	Allen, Leslie G. <i>The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text</i> . 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.

GKC	Gesenius, Wilhelm. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2006.
HALOT	Köhler, Ludwig. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1994-2000.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HB	Hebrew Bible
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HUP	Harvard University Press
ICC	The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
ITC	International Theological Commentary
J	The Yahwist
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCP	Jews' College Publications
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JM	Joüon, Paul. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . Translated by T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991.
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LAI	Library of Ancient Israel
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LHB/OTS	Library of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
MT	The Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible
Ms(s)	Medieval Hebrew Manuscript(s)
NCB	The New Century Bible Commentary
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OUP	Oxford University Press
P	The Priestly Writer(s)
<i>PIBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>ResQ</i>	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RNBC	Readings: A New Biblical Commentary
RSMS	The Religious Studies Monograph Series
S	The Peshitta
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and its Literature
SBLBE	Society of Biblical Literature Biblical Encyclopedia
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
STAR	Studies in Theology and Religion
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TBC	Torch Bible Commentaries
<i>TDOT</i>	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974-.
<i>VAB</i>	<i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i>
V _g	The Vulgate
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
T _g	The Targum
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries

WBC	The Word Biblical Commentary
WBc	Westminster Bible companion
WO'C	Waltke, Bruce K. and M. O'Connor. <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> . Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YUP	Yale University Press
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Declaration

I declare that this thesis does not contain work that has been presented for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree. This thesis is the result of my own work. Other sources are acknowledged in the main text or by footnotes. A bibliography is appended.

Ming Him Ko

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1. General Introduction

1.1. Purpose and Terminology

This study discusses and attempts to explain a simple observation: there is a special emphasis on Levitical singers¹ in Chronicles,² which is in contrast to the complete silence regarding any musical³ guild in the older synoptic history of Samuel-Kings.⁴

¹ The term “singer” designates those who practised both vocal singing and the playing of instruments, and is used as a synonym of “musician” and “chanter”.

² Thanks to H.G.M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977), 5–82; Sara Japhet, “Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew,” *VT* 18 (1968): 330–371, scholars have reached a general consensus that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are of different authorship. While the “doublet” in 2Chr 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-3 and the Greek witness of 1 Esdras provide inconclusive statements on their common authorship, the linguistic differences and, most decisively, the theological differences between the two works establish a firm case for Chronicles’ independence from Ezra-Nehemiah. See also Roddy L. Braun, “Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah: Theology and Literary History,” in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. J.A. Emerton, SVT 30 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979), 52–64; Brian E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, JSOTSS 211 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1996), 14–26; Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2005); Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, AB 12 (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 72–89; Kyung-Jin Min, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah*, JSOTSS 409 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 6–22. Furthermore, there has been also a general tendency to maintain the unity of Chronicles and to ascribe most portions of the text to the Chronicler’s hand rather than secondary additions: Rodney K. Duke, “Recent Research in Chronicles,” *CR-BS* 8 (2009): 14–15. I assume that 1Chr 1-9 belongs to the Chronicler’s hand based on sound reasoning offered by various scholars: Williamson, *Israel*, 71–82; Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, SNTSMS 8 (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), 47–55; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 245–265; James T. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9* (Atlanta: SBL, 2008). I also assume the unity of Chronicles in 1 Chr 23-27 and 2Chr 36:22-23 (see appendix A). Therefore, there is little doubt about the unity of Chronicles and the separate authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. These standpoints have become my basic assumptions in this study. Furthermore, I believe that Chronicles is dated at around the late fifth century BCE. For my reasoning on the dating in relation to the second temple community, see the introduction of Part II.

³ The definition of “music” or “musical” is culturally conditioned. The adjective “musical” denotes the musical aspect or element of any language, and therefore rhythm and melody include its musical element: Jean Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 46, 60. Gillingham convincingly argues that the concept of “music” is closer to “rhythm” as a flexible discernible pattern, instead of “metre” as an imposed mechanical counting technique: S.E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 44–68.

⁴ Auld thinks that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles rely on a non-Deuteronomistic common source and supplement it in their own way: A.G. Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story Of the Bible’s Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994). Recently, Person reformulates Auld’s theory of a common *Vorlage* within the setting of scribal works in an oral world of multiformity. He contends that the Deuteronomistic History was first composed in the exilic period, and the Deuteronomistic school continued its scribal activity in the post-exilic period. This school became a competing scribal school with the Chronistic School that produced Chronicles: R.F. Person, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal works in an Oral World*, SBLAIL 6 (Atlanta: SBL, 2010); R.F. Person, *The*

I ask: (1) Why was there a sudden flourishing of music and singers in post-exilic texts such as Chronicles? (2) What are the Chronicler's⁵ purposes in depicting the service of the Levitical singers? This study takes into consideration the social and cultural milieus of Mesopotamian literati, in their professional context, and that of the temple community in the Jerusalem of Yehud. The particular contribution of this study is an attempt to understand the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in relation

Deuteronomistic School: History, Social Setting, and Literature, SBL SBL 2 (Atlanta: SBL, 2002). Auld's (and Person's) hypothesis of a common *Vorlage* has not been accepted by most scholars. For cogent criticisms on Auld's theory, see Steven L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler as Author*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 80–87; John Van Seters, "The 'Shared Text' of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles Re-examined," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker, SVT 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 503–515; H.G.M. Williamson, "A Response to A.G. Auld," *JSOT* 27 (1983): 33–39, esp. 36–37; Zipora Talshir, "The Reign of Solomon in the Making: Pseudo-Connections Between 3 Kingdoms and Chronicles," *VT* 50 (2000): 233–248. For cogent critiques of the over-emphasis on oral dimension: Joachim Schaper, "A Theology of Writing: The Oral and the Written, God as Scribe, and the Book of Deuteronomy," in *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach*, ed. Louise Joy Lawrence and Mario I. Aguilar (Leiden: Deo, 2004), 115; Joachim Schaper, "Exilic and Post-exilic Prophecy and the Orality/Literacy Problem," *VT* 55 (2005): 324–342. Lemke reminds us that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* should be closer to 4QSam^a instead of MT-Sam: Werner E. Lemke, "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *HTR* 58 (1965): 349–363. McKenzie convincingly argues that the Chronicler's Kings-*Vorlage* belongs to a proto-Rabbinic text-type closer to MT-Kings: Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33 (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1985), 119–155. Scholars have reached a general consensus that the Chronicler relies on a version of Samuel-Kings as its *Vorlage*, though this version might not be reflected in MT. In tracing the tendentious move of the Chronicler, we can contend that he is more faithful to his *Vorlage* than had originally been conceived. We must take the witness of 4QSam^a into considerations with caution, on a case-by-case basis, though we can have more confidence in locating the difference in the synoptic portion of Chronicles and Kings. This has become my assumption in this study.

⁵ "The Chronicler" is the author of Chronicles. For clarity, I use a masculine singular pronoun (he/his/him) to denote the Chronicler. Traditionally, Ezra has been conceived as the author of Chronicles based on *Babylonian Talmud*, *Babla Bathra*, 15a. See also William Foxwell Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler," *JBL* 40 (1921): 104–123. The problem of the pro-Levitical and/or pro-priestly authorship of Chronicles is very complicated. This involves an examination of the redactional layers of Chronicles. Scholars have reached no consensus on this matter. This study, however, does not approach the problem of authorship. It simply assumes the widely accepted view that there is a Levitical influence in Chronicles: H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 17; R.J. Coggins, *The First and Second Books of the Chronicles*, CBC (Cambridge: CUP, 1976), 3–4; Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (London: SPCK, 1998), 131; Gary N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999): 49–72; Roddy L. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, WBC 14 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1986), xxxi–xxxii; Min, *Levitical Authorship*, 65–70; William Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus: An Analogy and Its Application*, JSOTSS 275 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1998), 69, 146; Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild Des Chronistischen Werkes*, BWANT 54 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930); A. Labahn, "Antitheocratic Tendencies in Chronicles," in *Yahwism After the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking, STAR 5 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 115–135.

to comparable elite professionals in ancient Mesopotamia.

This study also focuses on the articulation of the notion of the temple as realised template (Akkadian *u urtum*,⁶ Hebrew *ma'bad*, usually translated as “template” or “blueprint”). This understanding of the temple represents three basic premises. First, the earthly temple was understood as an earthly representation (or counterpart) of the heavenly temple. Second, this established a link between the heavenly temple and its equivalent on earth, aiming at the coherence of heaven and earth.⁷ Third, the heavenly God was understood as the government for the whole world. Many ideas associated with these premises have been used fluidly and selectively to articulate the coherence of heaven and earth: the mountain top as the connection point between the two; the temple site as the navel (or centre) of the earth; the temple as the divine source of life; the temple as the place governing battles; and the temple as the place through which the *axis mundi* passes.⁸

The Hebrew *ma'bad*, discussed above, is a key term in Chronicles (1Chr 28:11-12, 18-19), denoting a heavenly template that was to be realised in the construction of the earthly Jerusalem temple. The Chronicler's description of *ma'bad* is found in 1Chr 22-29, depicting David's preparation for building the temple, introducing to the reader a literary expectation that *ma'bad* characterises the Chronicler's temple as the very one that came from the heavenly template. This *ma'bad* did not refer to detailed measurements such as the “measurement” (*ma'bad*) for the visionary temple of Ezekiel (Ezek 43:10-12), in which the exact dimensions of length, size, height, and width of

⁶ Cf. *AH*, 3:1440

⁷ Cf. Robert Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996); Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (New York: OUP, 2006), 111–144.

⁸ Some works discuss these ideas in general: A.J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth*. (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1916); Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (London: Sheed & Ward, 1958), 367–385.

the temple were crucial.⁹ Rather, it involved only *general* entities such as construction categories (e.g., vestibule, chambers, and room; 1Chr 28:11-12), the divisions of temple personnel (1Chr 28:13a), vessels (1Chr 28:13b-15), and temple furniture (1Chr 28:16-18). The main purpose of was earthly realisation, in order to bring coherence between heaven and earth and to establish a link between the two realms.

Therefore, when I speak of “the coherence between heaven and earth”, “the heaven-and-earth dimension”, “the synchronisation of heaven and earth” or “the terrestrial imitation of celestial praise”, I am invoking the central theological claim of the Chronicler’s , the long-existing biblical heritage of this concept, and the prevailing ideological¹⁰ understanding of temples in the wider Mesopotamian culture. Chronicles itself does not set out to describe the temple as an earthly counterpart of the heavenly temple *in every corresponding detail*, yet we have much evidence in Chronicles to suggest *a more general correspondence* for describing the coherence between heaven and earth.

I would like to relate this theological pre-understanding of the Chronicler’s temple to the service of Levitical singers and to question how this notion provides a peculiar theological context in his characterisation of Levitical singers, which is not represented in Samuel-Kings.

The ancient concept of the temple as realised template can also be seen in the comparable Canaanite worship in Ugarit (Ras Shamra), and is also attested in the Mesopotamian tradition.¹¹ The concept was embraced, cultivated, and reflected in

⁹ focuses on the actual measurement of a plan (HALOT 4:1734), while designates more on a general pattern, model or copy (HALOT 4:1686).

¹⁰ The term “ideology” simply means “worldview”, which is similar to the use of ideology in Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2009; original edition: 1989).

¹¹ See R.E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 1–16; Richard Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge Mass.: HUP, 1972), 9–25, 34–97; George Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925), 150–157. For this metaphor in biblical accounts, see Clements, *God and Temple*, 17–134; Jon D.

different scribal sectors among different regions, so that it became one of the dominant concepts perpetuated by Mesopotamian scholars through the generations, although the elaborations of the concept could vary in different temple settings.

One premise on which this notion is based is that an authentic temple cult promoted and fostered the conditions necessary for worldwide stability, and that this involved coherence between heaven and earth, implying the government of God in the whole world. When I speak of “worldwide stability”, I am invoking the Chronicler’s expression in 1Chr 16:30, *“and the earth is at peace, and the world is at rest”* (), in which “worldwide” reflects the sense of “world” (), and “stability” means “be secure, be stable, establish” (). The term “worldwide” also attempts to conceptualise several of the Chronicler’s expressions such as “among the nations” (, 1Chr 16:24, 31), “among all the peoples” (, 1Chr 16:8, 24), “all the earth” (, 1Chr 16:14, 23, 30), “all kingdoms of the earth(s)” (, 1Chr 29:30; 2Chr 12:8; 17:10; 20:29; 36:23), “all nations and kingdoms” (2Chr 32:15), “all kingdoms of the nations” (2Chr 20:6), “all Israel” (, 1Chr 11:1,10; 12:39; 13:5; 14:8; 15:3; 18:14; 19:27; 21:5; 28:4, 8; 29:23, 25-26; 2Chr 9:30; 10:1, 16; 11:3; 18:16; 29:24; 30:1; 31:1), “all Judah” (2Chr 17:5), “all the cities of Judah” (2Chr 14:5), and the Chronicler’s juxtaposition of “heaven” () and “earth” () (1Chr 16:31; 21:16; 29:11; 2Chr 2:11; 6:14, 18; 7:14; 36:23, cf. section 4.2.1).

Furthermore, the term “stability” also attempts to convey other aspects of the Chronicler’s vocabulary such as “giving rest” (1Chr 22:9, 18; 23:25; 2Chr 6:41; 14:5-6; 15:15; 20:30), “rest” (1Chr 22:9; 28:2), “peace” (1Chr 4:40; 12:18-19; 22:9; 2Chr 15:5; 18:16, 26-27; 19:1; 34:28), and “quiet” (1Chr 4:40;

Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985), 111–137; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 107–160; Michael A. Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), 111–120; Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 29–61.

22:9; 2Chr 13:23; 14:4-5; 20:30; 23:21), in which the expression, “joy”, was described as the central emotional expression in stability (2Chr 6:41; 23:21). This stability also involved the healing (, 2Chr 7:14) of the land, the forgiveness (, 2Chr 7:14) of sin, and the establishment (or stability, stem =) of Solomon’s kingdom (1Chr 28:7). In this way, the notion of worldwide stability indicates a kind of stability that involved the rest, peace, and quietness of all kingdoms, nations, peoples, including Israel and Judah, through the coherence of heaven and earth. I contend therefore that the use of “worldwide stability” is justified and appropriate for conceptualising the Chronicler’s use of expressions.

In this thesis, I introduce the notion of “covenantal stability”, which is defined as a kind of worldwide stability that involved the theological significance of the symbolism and liturgy of the Jerusalem temple, which was based on the Davidic covenant. I intend to show that the temple service and ministry of Levitical singers aim to promote, foster, and enable (not mechanistically maintain or achieve) the necessary conditions (1Chr 28:7-10, 20; 2Chr 7:12-22) of the Davidic covenant, so that YHWH could bestow worldwide stability according to his upon the temple. Wright shows that the characterisation of God in Chronicles cannot be simply conceptualised by the notions of “transcendence” or “immanence”.¹² In 1Chr 29:11, for example, YHWH is depicted as the greatness, the power, the glory, the victory, and the majesty, who owns all that is in the heavens and the earth, and is exalted above all. Yet this God also actively participates in the arena of human history in Chronicles. This suggests a complex concept of God, which probably rejects a simple mechanistic manipulation of the conditions. In this sense, the covenantal conditions, which

¹² John W. Wright, “Beyond Transcendence and Immanence: The Characterization of the Presence and Activity of God in the Book of Chronicles,” in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein*, ed. Ralph W. Klein et al., JSOTSS 371 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 240–267.

involved both attitude¹³ and action,¹⁴ can be understood as the *necessary* conditions for God to bestow worldwide stability.

Within this covenantal context, the (re)building of the temple is particularly important. We can see much evidence in the second temple traditions that the building of the temple (including the establishment of the temple cult) implied prosperity, blessing, and stability from God (e.g. Hag 1:1-12; 1Chr 28:7-10; Ezra 6:9-10; 7:23). One of the most prominent examples can be found in the book of Haggai, in which Haggai encourages the Jewish people to build the temple of YHWH, so that YHWH would give prosperity and stability (Hag 1:8-9, cf. Section 3.2.2). This probably suggests that the concept of stability was an indispensable part of the ideology of the second temple.

I therefore wish to argue in this thesis that the concepts of covenantal stability, worldwide stability, and the temple as realised template have formulated our theological understanding of the service of Levitical singers in Chronicles. As shall be shown, these concepts are culturally relevant and theologically sensible.

The concept of the temple as realised template can be found in Mesopotamian ritual texts. Mesopotamian kings invested heavily in their temple cults for their well-being and health. In so doing, they earnestly cultivated numerous groups of experts to perform professional rituals to promote stability. These elite professionals constituted a social context for the perpetuation of various ideas surrounding their temple ideologies. I name this context as the “scholar-singer context”.

¹³ Positive attitudes involved “seek” (, 1Chr 28:9; 2Chr 7:14), “be strong” (, 1Chr 28:10), “humble” (, 2Chr 7:14), “turn” (, 2Chr 7:14), and “walk before me” (, 2Chr 7:17). Negative attitude involves “forsake” (, 1Chr 28:9; 2Chr 7:19), “turn aside” (, 2Chr 7:19). Positive attitudes constituted the necessary conditions.

¹⁴ Positive actions constituted the necessary conditions, involving “to do my commandments and my ordinances” (, 1Chr 28:7), “keep and seek all the commandments of YHWH your God” (, 1Chr 28:8), “to build the temple” (, 1Chr 28:10), and “to do according to all that I have commanded you and you keep my statutes and my ordinances” (, 2Chr 7:17).

The combination of “scholar” and “singer” indicates two things here. First, the term implies that music, literacy, and the mastery of traditions were important elements within the professions of the elite. I use “scholar” (Akkadian *upšar*, usually translated as “scribe”) to denote those professionals who undertook scribal education and enculturation, acquiring professional skills such as reading, writing, chanting, and liturgical performance in order to familiarise themselves with various scribal norms and practices. I also employ “singer” to signify an important learning and ritual technique of these scholars because music (i.e. formulaic, rhythmic, and patterned expressions) had been used as a mnemonic device and an effective “language” to ensure the stable transmission and preservation of traditions and metaphors,¹⁵ and to stage liturgical performance. Second, the term “scholar-singer” implies that there was no sharp division of labour between scribes and musicians. A person could simultaneously be a scribe and a chanter. Within the social context of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, people could probably interact with each others with numerous scribal-musical norms, ideas, and practices. Yet such a context was esoteric in nature; only the top stratum elite of Mesopotamian societies could participate in a social context that enabled interactions of this sort.

We must understand “Levites” as a whole in order to understand the Levitical singers in Chronicles. 2Chr 34:12-13 mentions, for example, that Levites were “skilled in instruments of song” as well as being “scribes”, “officials”, and “gatekeepers”. This reflects the broader capacity of a Levite: he was not simply confined to the profession of singing and music. As I shall show in regard to their Mesopotamian counterparts, musicians could be considered as scholar-singers who

¹⁵ David C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-Out Rhymes* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 15–88; Walter J Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1988), 34–36; Edmund Ronald Leach, *Culture and Communication: the Logic by Which Symbols Are Connected: An Introduction to the Use of Structuralist Analysis in Social Anthropology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976).

practiced a wide variety of skills and professions such as teaching, writing, reading, chanting, purifying, and prophesying. The borders between different functional roles fluctuated. The roles are also reflected in the Chronicler's description of the Levites as those who promoted worldwide stability. If we can accept the social interaction among the upper strata of Babylonians and Jews in the Neo-Babylonian royal court during the Babylonian exile as a workable hypothesis, the theological significance of Levitical singers with numerous professions in Chronicles would make good sense. My main thesis can be divided into two parts (corresponding to the two research questions posed at the outset) as follows:

- Part I. The Jewish engagement in the Neo-Babylonian royal court during the Babylonian exile probably created a social condition for influencing and providing insights into the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the temple as realised template and music. The identity making process of the temple community in Yehud, centred in Jerusalem, further deepened this ongoing reflection. This provided a theological frame of reference that affected and reaffirmed the Chronicler's choice of inner-biblical traditions in his literary depiction of the Jerusalem temple and the Levitical singers.
- Part II. Levitical singers in Chronicles sought to foster and promote worldwide stability in covenantal terms by exercising a threefold role: educational, scribal, and liturgical. This literary-theological purpose probably betrays the Chronicler's attempt to characterise these singers as socially comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, in order to promote and legitimise the theological primacy and authenticity of the Jerusalem temple cult.

1.2. Previous Studies

Generally speaking, three areas have attracted scholarly contributions that are relevant

to this study. First, there has been a general discussion on whether the Chronicler's depiction of the Levitical singers purely reflects a late projection of the second temple musicians or a faithful historical presentation of activity in the first temple. Second, scholars have examined the diachronic development of the Levitical musical guilds. They have explained the textual presentation of these singers in Chronicles as reflecting different stages of development. Finally, scholars have explored the theology or ideology embedded in Chronicles in its portrayal of the Levitical singers. They have explained the Chronicler's preference for the singers as reflecting his own theological or ideological *Tendenz*. I shall survey these three trends of scholarship.

1.2.1. The Historicity of the Levitical Singers in the First Temple

I begin my survey with Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, because his arguments have had lasting impact on the scholarship of Chronicles. He vigorously calls into question the historicity of David as the founder of the pre-exilic temple worship described in Chronicles, rendering the existence of Levitical singers in the monarchic period highly questionable. Regarding this negative judgment, he writes,

See what Chronicles has made out of David! The founder of the kingdom has become the founder of the temple and the public worship, the king and hero at the head of his companions in arms has become the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites; his clearly cut figure has become a feeble holy picture, seen through a cloud of incense. It is obviously vain to try to combine the fundamentally different portraits into one stereoscopic image; it is only the tradition of the older source that possesses historical value. In Chronicles this is clericalised in the taste of the post-exilic time, which had no feeling longer for anything but cultus and torah, which accordingly treated as alien the old history ... Just as the law framed by Ezra as the foundation of Judaism was regarded as having been the work of Moses, so what upon this basis had been developed after Moses – particularly the music of the sanctuary and the ordering of the temple *personnel* – was carried back to King David, the sweet singer of Israel, who had now to place his music at the service of the cultus, and write psalms along with

Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, the Levitical singing families.¹⁶

Three factors govern Wellhausen's interpretation. First, the central thesis of *Prolegomena* poses a linear chronological sequence of Israelite documents with at least three strata of redactions – J/E, D, and P – in which its orbit is assumed to move from natural and spontaneous stories, in J/E, to a more developed centralisation of cult, in D, culminating in the post-exilic and clericalised institutions of P. This evolutionary scheme, whether Hegelian¹⁷ or not,¹⁸ assumes that the thesis of early primitive stages is followed by the antithesis of priestly institution with deadly effect.¹⁹

The earlier history of Samuel-Kings and the later history of Chronicles are “plugged” into this evolutionary scheme with D corresponding to Samuel-Kings and P to Chronicles. Samuel-Kings is perceived as more natural²⁰ and more historical,²¹ whilst Chronicles, which uses Samuel-Kings as its source, is seen as having “twisted” and “perverted” the historicity in order to fulfil its theological outlook. In Chronicles, for example, the Levitical singers are “carried back to King David” as a late projection in order to satisfy the Chronicler's tendentious motive.

Second, Wellhausen believes that David, who was originally a natural “king and hero”, became “the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites”.²² The post-exilic worship “had no feeling longer for anything but cultus

¹⁶ Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies (BiblioBazaar, 2008; original edition: 1885), 223–224. Italics his

¹⁷ Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 5–9.

¹⁸ Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 21.

¹⁹ For cogent critiques of anti-ritualism and evolutionism, see Mary Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), 13–33; Klawans, *Purity*, 17–48; Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 1–18; Philip Peter Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of The World*, JSOTSS 106 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 66–74.

²⁰ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 213.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 223.

²² *Ibid.*

and torah.”²³ Wellhausen’s rhetoric is undoubtedly driven by the ideology of romanticism that prevailed during his time. The Chronicler “judaised” the older Israelite history by transforming its natural and instinctive religious outlook into a “clericalised” ecclesiastical organisation with sophisticated temple personnel and hierarchy. This “denaturalisation” reflects a strikingly negative assessment of ancient Judaism, as eliminating the sincerity and passion of early Israel’s religion.²⁴ Levitical singers, a product of “dead” Judaism, are inevitably interpreted as a ritualised, dead, late projection. Furthermore, Wellhausen’s liberal protestant convictions are not sympathetic to “ritual”, and his remarks about the temple service and the *Torah* betray a lack of a dispassionate analysis of the primary texts.

Earlier scholars have usually concurred with Wellhausen’s judgment of “late projection”, if not with his anti-Jewish and romantic presuppositions. For instance, Welch writes, “what the Chronicler did was to carry back this arrangement of his own time, and place it, as he placed so much else, under the authority of David”,²⁵ while Torrey writes, “[h]e [the Chronicler] distorts facts deliberately and habitually; invents chapter after chapter with the greatest freedom; and, what is most dangerous of all, his history is not written for its own sake, but in the interest of an extremely one-sided theory.”²⁶ Furthermore, Pfeiffer writes, “[a]s imagined by the Chronicler, the tribe of Levi is a purely artificial concept, a word of professional significance with no genealogical or ethnological reality.”²⁷

These scholars have tended to state that the Levitical singers reflect the second

²³ Ibid., 224.

²⁴ For Wellhausen’s anti-Jewish spirit, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (London: SCM, 1992), 12; Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 19–22; Lou H. Silberman, “Wellhausen and Judaism,” *Semeia* 25 (1982): 75–82; John C. Endres, “The Spiritual Vision of Chronicles: Wholehearted, Joy-filled Worship of God,” *CBQ* 69 (2007): 2–4.

²⁵ Adam Cleghorn Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and Its Date* (London: OUP, 1939), 63.

²⁶ Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, BZAW 2 (Giessen: Ricker, 1896), 52.

²⁷ Robert Henry Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London: A&C Black, 1948), 799.

temple worship in the Chronicler's own time and have resorted to the Chronicler's tendentious motive to legitimise the prerogative of Levites.²⁸ If the musical guild was simply a late projection imposed by the Chronicler, the way forward would be very simple. But the situation is not so simple, because there is always a possibility of mixing ancient traditions with contemporary elements, and this is difficult to unravel. The over-hasty generalisation of the Levitical singers purely as a late projection can lead to a reductionism that prevents any sympathetic inquiry into the Chronicler's portrayal in its own right.

Third, there is complete silence on any musical guild in Genesis-Kings. Modern scholars have to decide whether this silence implies the absence of music in early Israelite worship, or whether music was so common that nobody would think it necessary to mention such a prevailing phenomenon. Wellhausen chooses the former in asserting that the Chronicler "created, modernised, invented, twisted, distorted, harmonised" Israel's past for his theological *Tendenz*. This list of pejorative verbal expressions has been employed by subsequent scholars to emphasise the Chronicler's creativity and greatest freedom.²⁹

Reacting to this, some scholars have defended the historicity of the Levitical singers. They have drawn evidence from archaeological discoveries and ANE cultural practices and then compared these findings with biblical texts. For instance, Albright compares archaeological evidence in Canaanite areas with biblical texts and states, "we have incontrovertible external evidence for the antiquity of the musical guilds themselves."³⁰ Mowinckel explores the *Sitz im Leben* of various psalms from the perspective of *Gattung*, with verification from ANE counterparts, and affirms the

²⁸ E.g., Welch, *Work*, 55–77.

²⁹ E.g., Torrey, *Composition*, 52.

³⁰ William Foxwell Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), 126.

cultic life-setting of Israelite singers (i.e. they were cultic prophets).³¹ Sarna offers a comprehensive survey, stretching from the pre-exilic sources to the rabbinic literature, and affirms the antiquity of singing in numerous temple cults of ancient Israel.³² Sarna's research can be regarded as a reaction to Kaufmann's theory of "the sanctuary of silence", in which Kaufmann anchors the distinctiveness of Israelite religion in its anti-paganism. Since music contains ecstatic elements that made the Israelites vulnerable to paganism, songs and psalms would have been handled with great caution, so that the sanctuary of P would have no knowledge of any singing activity.³³

Scholarship since Wellhausen has wrestled with the problem of historicity. It would be tempting to see references to singers in Chronicles as either reflecting the author's late projection or presenting a trustworthy account of the pre-exilic temple cult, that is, as either a complete ideological imagination or a complete historical reality. Some scholars have proposed the concept of "historical probability",³⁴ which provides a reality-imagination spectrum for judging whether Levitical singers are historically probable or not. While this concept softens the extreme polarisation, I wonder whether the problem of historicity is a worthwhile pursuit, because the history of Israelite religion still contains many unbridgeable gaps that cannot be filled up easily with evidence that is available to us. As I shall show, there are many limitations

³¹ Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004; original edition: 1962), 2:79–103. For "cultic prophet", see Aubrey Rodway Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962); Aubrey Rodway Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament*, ed. Geoffrey Buswell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 101–112.

³² Nahum M. Sarna, "The Psalm Superscriptions and the Guilds," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History*, ed. Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (Alabama: Univ of Alabama Pr, 1979), 281–300.

³³ Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. Moshe Greenberg (London: Allen&Unwin, 1961), 110, 303–304. Cf. Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 148–152.

³⁴ E.g., E.J. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees: Foundations of Post-Biblical Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), 22; Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1993), 33; William G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 70–71.

in the form-critical method for exploring a *Sitz im Leben*.³⁵ A claim of what is historically probable, or not, is difficult to establish, and thus I do not consider it to be a productive pursuit.

Chronicles might not envisage its readers as expecting a detailed historical referentiality. Concerning its primary readership, Ben Zvi writes,

[T]he primary readerships most likely believed that the communicator speaking to them through the text of Chronicles, that is, the Chronicler, was relating to them the events as they truly happened. But “truly” here does not point at “truth” in the sense of “objective” truth, or history as “it actually happened”. The literati who constituted these communities of readers *neither expected nor demanded* full and complete mimesis with past events. Nor did their historiographical works claim to provide it.³⁶

Besides, Schweitzer contends that the Chronicler addresses social problems by presenting neither the former practices of the first temple nor the current practices of the second temple but a better, alternative reality, in a utopian manner.³⁷ Sparks also conceives the Chronicler’s genealogies more as literary constructs than historical records, and affirms, “[G]enealogies were not created for purely historical purposes, but were created to reflect the domestic, political and religious relationships which existed within a society.”³⁸ These studies have challenged the assumptions behind the positive (or negative) assessment of the historicity problem from literary-theoretical and sociological perspectives, and have shifted our focus to the Chronicler’s ideology and purpose.³⁹ Therefore, I move away from the problem of historicity in articulating the case for the existence of singers in Chronicles.

³⁵ W.H. Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody and Prophecy*, JSOTSS 27 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1984), 9–21. See Section 5.1.

³⁶ Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London; Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub., 2006), 65–66. Italics his

³⁷ Steven Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles* (London: T&T Clark, 2009).

³⁸ Sparks, *Genealogies*, 21.

³⁹ We have undergone this shift several decades ago: John W. Kleinig, “Recent Research in Chronicles,” *CR-BS* 2 (1994): 43–76; Duke, “Recent Research,” 10–41; Sara Japhet, “The Historical Reliability of Chronicles: The History of the Problem and Its Place in Biblical Research,” *JSOT* 33 (1985): 83–107.

1.2.2. The Diachronic Development of the Levitical Singers in the Second Temple

Scholars have examined the diachronic development of Levites, in general, and of Levitical singers, in particular. The scholarly import for the history of Israelite priesthood is too diverse and wide-ranging to survey here. I shall focus on a smaller part of this history: the diachronic development of musicians in the class of Levites.

In his classic article,⁴⁰ Gese proposes multiple stages of development for explaining the complexity of diverse name-lists in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles:

1. Stage I: At the beginning of the return (515 BCE), the singers were “sons of Asaph” (Ezra 2:41; Neh 7:44) who were not yet regarded as Levites.⁴¹
2. Stage II: At the time of Nehemiah (445 BCE), the singers were reckoned as Levites with a division into two groups: the groups of Asaph and Jeduthun (Neh 11:3-19; 1Chr 9:1-18).⁴²
3. Stage IIIA: At the time of the Chronicler, the Levitical singers were divided into three groups: Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (1Chr 16:4-6, 38-42; 2Chr 5:12; 29:13-14; 35:15).
4. Stage IIIB: Later, Ethan replaced Jeduthun, and Heman became more prominent than Asaph (1Chr 6:16-33; 15:16-24).⁴³

Gese’s reconstruction is based on a textual history of related portions of Chronicles. The dominant voice of Gese’s contemporary scholarship regards 1Chr 1-9 and 1Chr 15:16-24 as secondary additions to the Chronicler’s original work (this is no longer a dominant view today). This leads him to consider the Ethan-stratum as stage IIIB, which is later than the Chronicler. Williamson anchors stage IIIB in the time of the

⁴⁰ Hartmut Gese, “Zur Geschichte Der Kultsänger Am Zweiten Tempel,” in *Abraham Unser Vater*, ed. Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 222–234.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 223–224.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 224–227.

Chronicler and argues that the older materials of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun were sources, not additions.⁴⁴ Japhet thinks that Ethan and Jeduthun refer to the same person using two different names.⁴⁵ Recent commentators show a sceptical view of Gese's reconstruction. Klein calls our attention to the depictions of the Chronicler's singers, which reflect a greater complexity than the simple, discrete stages of Gese's development.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Knoppers reminds us of the textual complexity, which may not fully support Gese's reconstruction of Jeduthun and Ethan.⁴⁷ These criticisms somewhat undermine Gese's reconstruction. The relationship between the redactional history of Chronicles and the actual diachronic development of the musical guilds seems far more complex and sophisticated than Gese suspected.⁴⁸

Schaper reformulates Gese's theory by considering the socio-economic milieu of the Persian Empire.⁴⁹ His study contributes to a long-lived interest among scholars in exploring the second temple community from socio-economic and socio-ideological perspectives on the one hand⁵⁰ and in reconstructing the diachronic development of priests and Levites on the other.⁵¹ He contends that the lists in Ezra 2 and Neh 11 roughly reflect an amalgamation between the Levites and singers due to the increasing

⁴⁴ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 121.

⁴⁵ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 296.

⁴⁶ Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 348–351.

⁴⁷ Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, AB 12A (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 656–659.

⁴⁸ For another proposal (the association of singers with the Levitical ark-bearers), see Von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 98–115.

⁴⁹ Joachim Schaper, *Priester Und Leviten Im Achämenidischen Juda*, FAT 31 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 279–302.

⁵⁰ E.g., Joel Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community*, trans. Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, JSOTSS 151 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992); Charles E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*, JSOTSS 294 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999); Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period: Volume I: Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (London: T&T Clark, 2004); Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period: The Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.*, trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann, SBLBE 8 (Atlanta: SBL, 2011); Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

⁵¹ E.g., Risto Nurmela, *The Levites: Their Emergence as a Second-Class Priesthood*, SFSHJ 193 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998); John W. Miller, *The Origins of the Bible: Rethinking Canon History* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994); Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975); Haran, *Temples*, 58–111; Schaper, *Priester*.

prominence of the priestly cult-hierarchy and the social decline of the Levites. It was during the time of Nehemiah (445 BCE) that the Levites began to gain status. But the singers were not yet reckoned as the Levites until the time of Ezra (398 BCE), who reorganised the hierarchical structure of the temple community, in order to provide the Levites with a new status by merging singers in the clerical system of the Levites based on the increasing prominence of singing and music. Like Gese, Schaper maintains stages of development of the Levitical singers (with slightly different dating). Unlike Gese, Schaper takes into account the wider circumstantial factors such as the socio-economic situation of the temple community and gives a picture for the development of Levitical singers in the Persian period without overly associating it with the textual growth of Chronicles. Schaper's study not only focuses on "conflicts" (*Kampf*) between parties but also pays sufficient attention to "co-operations" (*Kooperation*) between priests and Levites (especially after Ezra's mission).⁵²

While it is completely justified to reconstruct the history of the institutional development, scholars have reached no consensus on it. Some think that the picture depicted in Ezra-Nehemiah contains no historical value,⁵³ while others believe that it is historically reliable.⁵⁴ This is perhaps due to the inconsistent and complicated presentation of different groups in Ezra-Nehemiah. It thus seems almost impossible to reconstruct an accurate history of the development because of limited sources available to us and many unbridgeable gaps.⁵⁵ The historical knowledge seems somehow unknowable, and this is the major limitation of the diachronic approach.

As such, it is very important to clarify the cognitive difference between the Chronicler's literary description of the Levitical singers (within the text) and the

⁵² Schaper, *Priester*, 301.

⁵³ E.g., Torrey, *Composition*, 57–65; David J.A. Clines, *What Does Eve Do to Help?: And Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament*, JSOTSS 94 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 124–164.

⁵⁴ E.g., H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, WBC 16 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1985), xxiv–xxxii.

⁵⁵ For an appraisal, see Min, *Levitical Authorship*, 89–91.

historical development of the second temple singers (behind the text). What is depicted in Chronicles does not necessarily reflect the historical reality in the second temple, because the text may have described an ideological ideal,⁵⁶ though I recognise that there are historical data embedded within the biblical text that are difficult to single out. Therefore, in this study, it is entirely realistic to put aside the question of historical development and to ask questions on the ideological ideas (e.g. the ideological significance of music) in Chronicles.

However, the focus on the Chronicler's ideological perspective does not mean that one reads the text in a cultural vacuum. The ideological ideas, as I shall show, probably came from a particular background of the second temple community and the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. This wider circumstantial analysis has been ignored in approaching the prominence of music. For example, Schaper only understands the significance of music from a practical, organisational viewpoint,⁵⁷ and he does not seek to explain a probable reason for its significance. Although his attempt to solve the problem is impressive, other circumstantial factors *outside* the temple community that led to the prominence of music have not yet been thoroughly studied. Therefore, I attempt to examine these circumstantial factors from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context in the pre-Hellenistic⁵⁸ culture of the Babylonian-Persian empires. In so doing, I do not intend to provide another description of the diachronic development of the singers. Nor do I seek to explain the circumstantial factors that gave rise to a specific group(s). Rather, I aim to explain the circumstantial ideas in the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture that gave rise to the ideological significance of music and singers in Chronicles (also Ezra-Nehemiah).

⁵⁶ Schweitzer, *Utopia*.

⁵⁷ Schaper, *Priester*, 300. Or probably because of the pre-exilic tradition of the first temple music: *Ibid.*, 282 n56.

⁵⁸ I borrow the term "pre-Hellenistic" from Weinberg to designate the precondition of a socio-cultural background for Hellenism to spread: Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 17–33.

1.2.3. The Theological Significance of the Levitical Singers in Chronicles

There have been some attempts to give a comprehensive synthesis of the theological significance of the Chronicler's presentation of music and singers. Using literary analysis, with attention to an inner-biblical exegesis, Kleinig explores the theological significance of music in synchronisation with the sacrificial rite. He examines the exact procedure of how and when different parts of the rite were performed during Hezekiah's reform and observes that the Levitical singing during YHWH's acceptance of a burnt-offering occupied the central position in the rite. In this way, temple musicians stood in an intermediate position between YHWH and the people. They sang ritual songs and rejoiced in YHWH, in order to motivate people to give thanks for what YHWH had done for them.⁵⁹ Kleinig also offers a comprehensive study of different ritual components such as words, places, times, instruments, and performers,⁶⁰ and gives theological insight into the Chronicler's characterisation of the singers' role of announcing God's acceptance to his people and of proclaiming God's deliverance in the time of crisis.⁶¹

It is a pity, however, that Kleinig's work came before that of Schniedewind,⁶² Riley,⁶³ and Kelly,⁶⁴ and that he therefore did not benefit from the insights of these scholars on the issues of prophecy, covenant, temple, and retribution in relation to the service of Levitical singers. This may explain why Kleinig's work seems to be particularly weak in articulating the prophetic role of the singers as an inspired

⁵⁹ John W. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function and Significance Of Choral Music in Chronicles*, JSOTSS 156 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 100–131.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 64–97.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 133–181.

⁶² William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second temple Period*, JSOTSS 197 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1995).

⁶³ William Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History*, JSOTSS 160 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993).

⁶⁴ Kelly, *Retribution*.

interpretation of traditions and in exploring the way in which the proclamation of God's deliverance relates to covenant and retribution. This weakness is highlighted if we regard the Davidic covenant and the Jerusalem temple as two central entities in the Chronicler's theological convictions.⁶⁵ Indeed, it would hardly be reasonable to skip over their centrality in articulating the theological significance of Levitical singers. Furthermore, as Willi points out, Kleinig's over-emphasis on the synchronisation of song and sacrifice cannot do justice to the aspects of musical performance that are not associated with sacrifice.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, it is fair to say that Kleinig's work is attractive and theologically founded, despite being based on the limited amount of scholarly research available to him. I myself am indebted to his helpful research on musical instruments and textual notes. In this thesis, and with a view to supplementing Kleinig's work, I wish to approach Levitical singers in a covenantal context by building on the research undertaken in the past two decades.⁶⁷

Previous research into the Chronicler's ideology and purpose has touched only on isolated topics of the Levites and singers in Chronicles.⁶⁸ Although these studies have

⁶⁵ Ibid., 156–185.

⁶⁶ Thomas Willi, "Evokation Und Bekenntnis: Art Und Ort Der Chronistischen Vokal- Und Instrumentalmusik," in *Sprachen, Bilder, Klänge: Dimensionen Der Theologie Im Alten Testament Und In Seinem Umfeld: Festschrift Für Rüdiger Bartelmus Zu Seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009), 355–356.

⁶⁷ E.g., Kelly, *Retribution*; Schniedewind, *Transition*; Riley, *King and Cultus*; Jozef Tiño, *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Contextual Approach to Their Relations*, FRLANT 234 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010); Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, BIS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁶⁸ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 163–188; Welch, *Work*, 56–63; Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 149–175; John C. Endres, "Theology of Worship in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Theologian*, JSOTSS 371 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2003), 165–188; Tamara C. Eskenazi, "A Literary Approach to Chronicles' Ark Narrative in 1 Chronicles 13-16," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid B. Beck et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 258–274; John C. Endres, "Joyful Worship in Second Temple Judaism," in *Passion, Vitality and Foment: The Dynamics of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Lamontte M. Luker (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 165–188; Endres, "Spiritual Vision," 1–21; Willi, "Evokation," 351–361; Roger S. Nam, "Writing Songs, Singing Songs: The Oral and the Written in the Commission of the Levitical Singers (1Chr 25:1-6)," in *The Interface of Orality and Writing*, ed. Annette Weissenrieder and Robert B. Coote, WUNT 260 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 310–321.

not incorporated all the theological aspects of the Chronicler's view of Levitical singers, they have addressed important issues such as the relationship between the singers and the covenant, their ranking, the makeup of their institution, their prophecy, joyful worship, and musical instruments. Although the quests for the Chronicler's purposes are rich and profound, the wider circumstantial ideological factors *outside* the temple community that shaped the Chronicler's theology have not yet thoroughly explored before.

1.2.4. Summary: Position the Study

In many respects, the sudden flourishing of music and singers in the post-exilic texts such as Chronicles remains mysterious. From this survey, we know that it is difficult to explain the prominence of music through an examination of the historicity of the Levitical singers in the first temple or through an investigation of their historical development in the second temple. The internal affairs or conflicts among various parties inside the second temple community seem unable to provide a clear hint on answering the question. Rather, as I shall show, the Jewish experience of the exile probably explains how the *external* circumstantial factors in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture nourished the institution and ideology of Levites and singers in Chronicles.

Chronicles, I believe, reflects a special interest in ritual music within the much wider matrix of temple services. This matrix arises from the cultural milieu of the professional Mesopotamian literati (circumstantial examination) and from the theological centrality of the temple and its covenantal basis (ideological examination). As I have shown, the combination of these two perspectives has not been thoroughly explored. The incorporation of these perspectives might be considered too ambitious. Of course, such research must build on studies in different disciplines and areas and

requires a clear statement of my approaches, which will be explored in the introductions of the two parts of this study.

1.3. Outline of the Study

This study will be divided into two main parts, which correspond to the two research questions set out at the beginning. Part I of this study explores the external circumstantial factors, which probably fostered the prominence of music, from a “*historical-comparative* perspective”⁶⁹ with two chapters. Chapter Two surveys the threefold professional aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers – educational, scribal, and liturgical – providing a platform for the discussion of Levitical singers in Chronicles. Chapter Three provides a working hypothesis that Jehoiachin and his officials engaged with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in the Neo-Babylonian royal court during the exile. This explains the mechanism of how the Babylonian ruling class and Jewish elite professions interacted with each other in this cultural and social context. I further argue that the returns of Jews, led by the descendants of Jehoiachin, generated three themes of continuity that reflect an ongoing intra-Jewish reflection and internalisation of the exilic experience.

Part II turns to a purely *ideological* examination on the service of the Levitical singers in Chronicles in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context with four chapters. Chapter Four explores the establishment of the temple community as the cultural and social background for the production of Chronicles. I further explore how the concept of the temple as realised template affects the literary production of Chronicles, particularly its depiction of the temple. This formulates a theological frame of reference by which to comprehend the theological significance of Levitical singers. Chapters Five to Seven interpret the theological significance of Levitical

⁶⁹ I shall define this term in the introduction of Part I.

singers in Chronicles according to the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context. Chapter Five explores the prophecy of the singers in the context of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 25:1-8; 2Chr 20) in light of the educational aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context. I argue that their prophecy under the direction of David in the father-son apprenticeship system sought to promote the worldwide stability envisaged in the conditional statements of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 28:3-8; 2Chr 7:14). Chapter Six extends the discussion to the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers as scholar-singers by reading the inset psalms (1Chr 16:8-36; 2Chr 6:41-42), alongside the Levitical shaping of the Psalter, in light of the scribal aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer. I argue that the text characterises Levitical scholar-singers as the main agents in fostering covenantal stability according to YHWH's "faithfulness" (). Chapter Seven examines the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in the (re)inaugurations of the Jerusalem temple cult (2Chr 5-7; 29-30), in light of the liturgical aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer. I argue that the synchronisation of song and sacrifice sought to foster the coherence between heaven and earth that brought a worldwide stability. These ideological elements probably betray the Chronicler's attempt to characterise the Levitical singers as socially comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, in order to legitimise and promote the authenticity of the second temple cult.

All translations from Hebrew and Greek are my own unless otherwise stated. I indicate parallel texts by the double slash marker (e.g. 1Kgs 22//2Chr 18). All citations from the HB follow the numerical system of MT.

Part I: The Influence of Mesopotamian Scribal-Musical Culture

Introduction: Historical-Comparative Perspective

In this first part, I attempt to answer the first research question: why was there a sudden flourishing of music and singers in the clerical system of Levites in Chronicles, a literary production after the exile? I approach the question from a cultural perspective, focusing primarily on a “historical-comparative approach” to explore contextually the Jewish-Babylonian professional social interactions during the Babylonian exile, in which the influence of Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture played a crucial role for the sudden flourishing. As many agree, it is almost impossible to reconstruct an accurate history of the exile and return. I rather take a wider circumstantial examination, attempting to establish a broader Mesopotamian scribal-musical context for comprehending the probable interaction between Jews and Babylonians and to investigate the probable reaction of Jewish people to this context. For the sake of expression, this define what I mean by a “historical-comparative approach”, though I think that this so-called “approach” is more an interpretive perspective, reflecting my cognitive interest, rather than suggesting a new method.

One starting point for this study was the fact that the presentation of Levitical singers in Chronicles does not come from an accidental, uncontextualised, abstracted, and culture-free vacuum, but that it is derived from a particular world, in which different cultures shared a common understanding of professional musicians.

A contextually sensitive historical-comparative approach aims to discover the similarities and differences between multiple cultures and to explore an appropriate context for the exchange of cultural ideas, conventions, and practices. Of course, when the Levitical singers in Chronicles are understood through this approach, we cannot

expect to resolve some problems, such as the historicity of Levitical singers in the first or second temple. Yet this approach may offer new angles or suggest new answers to problems that have traditionally relied on the biblical text alone. It also enriches our understanding of these singers with an appreciation of shared scholar-singers' roles and practices, and, in some difficult cases, it suggests a better choice between competing interpretations.

Scholars have examined evidence from Israel's surroundings. For instance, Hallo and others⁷⁰ propose a type of "comparative approach", which is contextually sensitive. In order to make plausible claims of comprehensiveness, Hallo not only explores the similarities of multiple cultures but also "takes into account what may be called negative comparisons or, more simply, contrasts."⁷¹ For Hallo, every positive comparison should be tested by this threefold question: "[W]hat were the mechanics of that transmission, at what date did it take place, and in what direction did it go?"⁷² Hallo also proposes "genre" as "one of the principal vehicles for the transmission of and adherence to literary norms in cuneiform."⁷³ This means that if a biblical episode could be considered as being in the same "genre" as literary work from Israel's surroundings, the possibility of a literary influence between two works is increased.

Carr and others⁷⁴ generally follow the lead of Hallo, reframing their comparative approaches within the scribal context of multiple cultures. In other words, their comparative approaches are sensitive to contemporaneous, shared scribal norms and

⁷⁰ Carl D. Evans, William W. Hallo, and John B. White, eds., *Scripture in Context: Essays on the Comparative Method* (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1980); William W. Hallo, James C. Moyer, and Leo G. Perdue, eds., *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1983).

⁷¹ William W. Hallo, "The Expansion of Cuneiform Literature," *AAJR* 46/47 (1980): 308.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ William W. Hallo, *Origins: the Ancient Near Eastern Background of Some Modern Western Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 149.

⁷⁴ David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass: HUP, 2009); Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007).

practices. It is reasonable to make comparisons in this context, because “the Israelite scribes are sociologically comparable to the Mesopotamian and Egyptian scribes ... The culture to which scribes belonged was cosmopolitan.”⁷⁵ This comparative approach merits a nuanced sensitivity to different historical and scribal contexts. I maintain that it is legitimate to follow this approach. Highly problematic, however, is the over-exactness of “date”, “genre”, and “direction”. We cannot confidently determine the exact direction and date of influence between multiple cultures, and this is the major limitation of this approach. Resorting to the concept of “genre” is also problematic, because there is a danger of imposing our modern understanding of the word to describe something that may have enjoyed literary fluidity.⁷⁶

Nonetheless, Carr and others focus on the scribal context to explain the similarities and differences in comparison. This focus, I think, is entirely reasonable, because (1) only this upper elite class could be classified as literati, (2) international mobility was one of the working natures of this class, and (3) the cosmopolitan spirit of different regional centres, such as Jerusalem, fostered a social environment for cultural interchanges. My articulation of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context also generally aligns with this line of thinking. However, no matter how frequently these elite classes socially interacted, we still cannot determine exactly at what point, in what direction, and for what reason the exchange of their norms, practices, and ideas may have occurred. Therefore, I generally accept the comparative approach suggested by Hallo and his followers. I deliberately depart from the over-exactness of “genre”, “date”, and “direction”, but I agree that the scholar context is a good point of departure for the exploration of cultural interaction.

In this study, I propose that the deportation of Jehoiachin and his officials

⁷⁵ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 53.

⁷⁶ Steven Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative: the History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 2–3; Gillingham, *Poems*, 18–43.

(mostly elite professionals) during the Babylonian exile establishes a social context for explaining the possible mechanism of how the Jewish thinkers engaged with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, facilitating the intensification of the intra-Jewish traditions that were shared between the two cultures. This does not mean to suggest that Israelites and Mesopotamians did not experience cultural exchange in the pre-exilic period.⁷⁷ It is highly conceivable that the concept of the temple as realised template is very ancient,⁷⁸ as we have archaeological evidence, for instance, from the excavated temples in Ain Dara and Tell Tayinat that feature similar structures to those in Solomon's temple.⁷⁹ This betrays common temple ideologies that had prevailed in the ANE from the Bronze Age onward. Furthermore, some pre-exilic Israelite traditions, such as Isa 6,⁸⁰ had already presented YHWH as a global deity. I therefore do not believe that the temple as realised template was new for the Chronicler.

Rather, as I shall show, the cultural interaction that happened within the social context of the Babylonian scholar-singers suggests a new explanation for the mechanism of how the particular, indigenous elaboration of the temple as realised template and musical traditions, rooted in the Mesopotamian temple cults, influenced the Jewish deportees in their ongoing intra-Jewish reflection of Israelite traditions. The Jewish engagement with the scholar-singer context did not create the concept of the temple as realised template and music but *simply* reaffirmed or reinforced something that had been latent in the pre-exilic and exilic Israelite traditions. Sociologically speaking, Jewish deportees were inferior to the Babylonians during the

⁷⁷ For a good survey in this respect, see Carr, *Tablet*, 47–61.

⁷⁸ See a collection of essays: Truman Madsen, ed., *The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives*, RSMS 9 (Salt Lake City: Religious Studies Center Brigham Young University, 1984).

⁷⁹ John M. Monson, "The Temple of Solomon: Heart of Jerusalem," in *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 12–21.

⁸⁰ H.G.M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 30.

exile. Jews lost their temple and its cult, and thus must have been questioning their identity and their belief that YHWH as king controlled the whole world. Meanwhile, they encountered a more developed ritual system that elaborated on a “successful” version of the temple as realised template in Babylon. This encounter would have deepened the reflection of their identity and adherence to YHWH.

Williamson starts his monograph with this comment:

The author of the books of Chronicles lived during a period in which one of the major issues for the Jewish people was the precise definition of the extent of its own community. Before the exile to Babylon, this was less of a problem, because the community was co-extensive for the most part with the nations of Israel and Judah. The loss of sovereignty, however, combined with the divisions caused by the transportation of many of the leaders to Babylon and the later return to the land, created a quite new situation in which the “terms of membership” had to be redefined.⁸¹

The traumatic event brought a crisis of the “terms of membership”. When Jewish people returned to Jerusalem to establish their temple community, the burning issue of identity created a new situation, as presented in Ezra-Nehemiah, for the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the experience of the exile. They tended to preserve the past in historiography like that of Chronicles, which legitimised and promoted the primacy of their temple cult. There, the ideas surrounding the “successful” Babylonian version of the temple as realised template and its musical cult would have supported this legitimising purpose. This new social situation marks the essential difference between the world behind Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.⁸² The Chronicler received this ongoing reflection in formulating his temple as realised template (together with the role of music in supporting the concept) and incorporated his understandings into

⁸¹ Williamson, *Israel*, 1.

⁸² A version of the Deuteronomistic History was probably written during the exile either in Palestine as suggested, for example, by Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSS 15 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1981), or in Babylon as supported, for instance, by Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.*, trans. David Green (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 273–302. This represents a milieu that is different from that of Chronicles.

Chronicles. I wish to advance this picture in this study.

The social interaction between Babylonians and Jews does not mean that Jewish scribes produced their literary creations through direct literary dependence on, or borrowing (e.g. visual copying) from Mesopotamian traditions. As I shall show, the share of ideas and practices remains general in nature. No matter how strongly and directly the Jewish-Babylonian intellectual interaction happened in the exile, we still cannot be sure if Jews were able to borrow directly from Mesopotamian literature. The similarities of norms and practices between the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and the Chronicler's Levitical singers may thus be explained by a more general resemblance in terms of their institutional (e.g. functional roles, professional practices) and ideological (e.g. temple as realised template, worldwide stability) aspects.

I do not pin down a specific direction of influence, because we cannot trace the "origin" of the temple as realised template. Yet we can speak of a social reason for Jewish scholars to reaffirm some intra-Jewish traditions, because of the influence of the Babylonian musical culture. Neither do I attempt to identify a particular date of influence, because the temple as realised template and its associated music had been prevalent long before the exile; it is not possible to find a discrete time which this influence began and ended. I do not exclude exchanges with other cultures such as the Egyptians, Canaanites, and Greeks; many agree that Chronicles was produced within the Persian period, and since the Persian Empire succeeded the existing administrative and cultural framework of the former Neo-Babylonian Empire,⁸³ the norms and practices of the wider Mesopotamian culture still dominated the ANE. This explains why I choose "Mesopotamia" as the comparative counterpart.

A historical-comparative approach classified as "contextual" means that it takes

⁸³ Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 46; Amélie Kuhrt, "Babylonia From Cyrus to Xerxes," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. John Boardman et al., vol. 4 (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 119; Hans Heinrich Schaeder, *Esra Der Schreiber*, BHT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1930), 48; Berquist, *Judaism*, 23–24.

into consideration a cluster of parameters – history, sociology, politics, and literary texts – in order to comprehend the historical dynamics. Some might think that there is a gap between history and sociology, but I am inclined to agree with Schaper that “Geschichte und Soziologie unterscheiden sich also nicht hinsichtlich ihrer *Methoden*, sondern vielmehr hinsichtlich ihrer Erkenntnisinteressen.”⁸⁴ Although I regard my “cognitive interest” (*Erkenntnisinteresse*) as an “approach”, this definition expresses more an angle of approaching a circumstantial context than a “method” (*Methode*).

This interpretive angle can also be concluded using Schaper’s exposition:

Ein *traditionelles* Element der Forschung aber, das unbedingt erhalten bleiben und weitergeführt werden muß, geht Hand in Hand mit der sozialgeschichtlichen Analyse: der Religionsvergleich. Wie schon von den Mitgliedern der „Religionsgeschichtlichen Schul“ überzeugend demonstriert, ist der komparatistische Ansatz bei der Erforschung antiker Religionen unerlässlich, muß aber mit größerer Vorsicht verfolgt werden, als dies oftmals, im Überschwang der Entdeckungen der damaligen Zeit, geschah.⁸⁵

My *Erkenntnisinteresse* is to understand the historical dynamics between Babylonians and Jews with a cluster of parameters that characterise a “contextual” reading of Chronicles. My particular concern of the historical-comparative approach generally agrees with Schaper’s assertion that the comparison of religions should go hand-in-hand with socio-historical analysis. But I make a deliberate effort to nuance the historical-comparative approach with particular caution by not ascribing direct literary borrowing to the Chronicler and by situating the inter-cultural elements within the socio-ideological environment of the Chronicler.

Before we examine the Jewish engagement of the social setting of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers (Chapter Three), we first have to explore their roles in its own right (Chapter Two), to which I now turn.

⁸⁴ Schaper, *Priester*, 11. Italics his

⁸⁵ Ibid., 16. Italics his

2. Scholar-Singers in Mesopotamia

This chapter attempts to understand the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in their own right and surveys their threefold role – educational, scribal, and liturgical – in the first millennium BCE. There were many kinds of singers in this region.⁸⁶ I shall focus on a kind of singer called a “lamerter”⁸⁷ (Akkadian *kalû*, Sumerian *gala*) as an instructive example of scholar-singers. These singers were mostly restricted to a special kind of lamentation-text that was composed and chanted for the ritual purpose of appeasing the anger of the gods in the demolition and restoration of temples.⁸⁸ Their lament-songs contain a Sumerian dialect called *emesal*, which was connected to their own liturgies.⁸⁹ Since *kalû*-priests had transmitted lament-traditions as part of their scholarly activities and were heavily involved in cults (in mostly musical activities), and their scribal-musical activities were well-documented in the first millennium, it would be instructive to explore this particular kind of scholar-singer in this chapter.

The activities of *kalû*-priests belonged to the wider spectrum of the Mesopotamian intellectual life that can learn about in a significant number of cuneiform texts unearthed in palace libraries, private houses and temples, dated between the Neo-Assyrian period and the Seleucid period. Sources from the Neo-Assyrian period come mainly from Assyria, from the libraries of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, and primarily include administrative letters depicting the threefold role of *kalû*-priests. These Assyrian sources were written in the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian, documenting various traditional Babylonian traditions, epics and myths,

⁸⁶ Such as “incomer” (*urigallu*), “incantator” (*mashmashu*), “lamerter” (*kalû*), “chanter” (*nâru*), and “lamerter-in-chief” (*kalamahhu*). For an introduction, see E. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d’Assyrie*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1945), 205–211.

⁸⁷ I use *kalû*-priest to describe lamerter in the first millennium and *gala*-priest to describe them in the Old Babylonian/Ur III period.

⁸⁸ For brief introductions, see Dhorme, *Les Religions*, 207–209; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1921), 1–2.

⁸⁹ For *emesal*, see Joachim Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 12–14.

and they can thus be understood as an extension of the mainstream Babylonian cuneiform traditions. Sources from the Seleucid period contain many of the *kalû*-priests' ritual texts, which come mainly from Babylon and Uruk, and sources from the Neo-Babylonian period consist of myths and epics, liturgical poems, lament-texts, discarded exercise tablets and educational texts, ration-texts, and royal historical documents with various colophons, which give us information about the educational and social life of *kalû*-priests. This rich variety of data is the basis of the search for the scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests in first millennium Mesopotamia.

Of course, our particular interest is the social conditions of the royal court and elite professionals in the Neo-Babylonian period, when Jews were exiled to Babylonia, and I shall therefore draw evidence from this period, especially in relation to the educational and scribal roles of *kalû*-priests. There is, however, a gap in the Neo-Babylonian period with regard to the liturgical activity of *kalû*-priests, because none of their ritual texts from this period survive (most of the available evidence of their liturgical activities comes from the Assyrian administrative texts and the Seleucid ritual texts). As I shall argue in Section 2.4, however, this gap is not unbridgeable, because their liturgical work was closely related to their educational and scribal duties during the period in question, and thus we can deduce information from the texts available relating to these aspects of their role. Regarding the continuity of traditions and customs after the Neo-Babylonian period, Beaulieu writes,

More important, after the political demise of Babylon with the Persian conquest of 539 BC, traditional education in cuneiform became a badge of cultural identity for the Babylonians, now threatened by the imposition of foreign rule and the rise of new official vernaculars such as Aramaic. Such factors even increased the symbolic importance of cuneiform writing as the civilization that had supported it for three thousand years entered its twilight.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian Intellectual Life," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 474.

The Hellenistic cultural assimilation that the Babylonians encountered would have increased their desire to preserve their ancient traditions.⁹¹ Beaulieu gives some examples in this regard and writes,

This tradition [cuneiform learning in the third century BCE] is nothing but a projection back into mythical time of the conservative and incremental nature of late Babylonian scholarship. The role of the learned was essentially to preserve, explain, and transmit an immutable body of knowledge revealed once and for all in primeval time. Such refusal to entertain the possibility of progress is very typical not only of the Babylonian world view, but pervades the thinking of all ancient civilizations.⁹²

Although Beaulieu's notions of "nothing but" and "all" cannot do justice to the changing character of the transmission of the Babylonian traditions down the ages, he indeed provides evidence to show that the first millennium is probably the period of standardisation and of interpretations of authoritative traditions, as is commonly assumed and accepted.⁹³ This continuing character of cuneiform culture should not be underestimated when we survey the Neo-Babylonian activities of *kalû*-priests.

Although I survey the first-millennium scholar-singers between the eighth and first centuries BCE, I do not attempt to force the evidence from different periods into a preconceived and compressed, unified framework, as if everything remains constant over time, and nor do I seek to advance any scheme of diachronic development. Rather, I intend to indicate the dating of different documents and highlight their nuanced differences. In so doing, I aim to give the reader a diachronic and synchronic

⁹¹ Gilbert J.P. McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*, FAS 4 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981), 189.

⁹² Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 476.

⁹³ E.g., Niek Veldhuis, "Mesopotamian Canon," in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. Margalit Finkelberg and Guy G. Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18–28; Petra D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien: Im Ersten Jahrtausend V. Chr.*, AOAT 275 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 56; Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011); Uri Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia and Their Relation to Early Hebrew Exegesis," *DSD* 19 (2012): 267–312; Dominique Charpin, *Reading and Writing in Babylon*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, Mass.: HUP, 2010), 51–53.

overview of the scribal-musical culture in the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

A fuller version of some quoted texts can be found in Appendix C. A chronological chart in modern notation can be found in Appendix D, and some Mesopotamian terminologies can be found in Appendix B.

2.1. The Manifold Aspects of the Mesopotamian Scholar-singers

I begin this survey using a letter from Marduk-š pik-z ri to the great Assyrian king Assurbanipal, which describes his education and abilities; the information given in this letter can be regarded as representative of scholar-singers in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. It states (using Parpola's translation, lines 36-50),

I fully master my father's profession, the discipline of lamentation; I have studied and chanted the Series. I am competent in [...], "mouth-washing," and purification of the palace [...]. I have examined healthy and sick flesh.

I have read the (astrological omen series) *En ma Anu Enlil* [...] and made astronomical observations. I have read the (anomaly series) *Šumma izbu*, the (physiognomical works) ...

[All this I lear]ned [in my youth]. Under the aegis of the king, my lord, ... I am competent in the profession of my father; ...

Among the [..... apprentices] who studied with me [in], there are [.....] who [have returned] from Elam, [scribes, chanters], exorcists, haruspices, and physicians; [I shall gather them] and give them [to the king], my lord.⁹⁴

Marduk-š pik-z ri seems to be an expert in numerous fields. He experienced specific professional education with his father and could interpret celestial events and signs with hermeneutical dynamics, using compendiums such as *Šumma izbu*. He could also chant the Series and perform appropriate liturgies. Furthermore, he could master the discipline of lamentations (*kalûtu*), suggesting that he was one of the *kalû*-priests. This attests to the expertise of this diviner not only in the field of astrology but also in omen sciences, incantations, music, liturgy, scribal knowledge, and sacrifice.

⁹⁴ Simo Parpola, ed., *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, SAA 10 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993), 122.

As Rochberg points out in his helpful survey of the colophon “*upšar En ma Anu Enlil*”, the term *upšar*, usually translated as “scribe”, does not mean that a person was only a scribe (in the Neo-Assyrian period), but signifies a broader intellectual discipline that included the singing and incantation of various Assyrian literatures.⁹⁵ Thus the professional titles of *upšar* and *kalû* could be assigned to one person.⁹⁶ A *kalû*-priest could even be the editor of the Akkadian version of the Gilgamesh epic and, at the same time, a cultic performer, until the Hellenistic period.⁹⁷ The colophon of some ritual texts from the Seleucid period also indicates that the writer of these tablets (which presupposes the profession of *upšar*) also held the title of *kalû*. For example:

The ritual of *kalû*. The tablet of Anu-a -iddin, son of Ri at-Ani, the *kalû*-in-chief of Anu and Antu, Uruk. Written, reviewed and collated according to an old tablet.⁹⁸

At Assur, in the Neo-Assyrian period, there was a private house containing a library for chief singers, who were probably literate singers who sang epics in their library during their scribal education.⁹⁹ Therefore, we can consider that a Mesopotamian scribe in the first millennium would have been a scholar with a rich variety of disciplines,¹⁰⁰ in which a *kalû*-priest can be regarded as a kind of scholar-singer.¹⁰¹ However, in order not to compress the Neo-Babylonian picture of *kalû*-priests by

⁹⁵ Francesca Rochberg, “Scribes and Scholars: The *Ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*,” in *Assyriologica Et Semitica : Festschrift Für Joachim Oelsner Anlässlich Seines 65. Geburtstages Am 18. Februar 1997*, ed. Joachim Oelsner, Joachim Marzahn, and Hans Neumann, AOAT 252 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 359–375.

⁹⁶ “[W]e had assigned to Nabû-apla-ušur, *kalû*-priest and *Enūma Anu Enlil* scribe, son of Nabû-mušētiq-uddi”: Ibid., 374.

⁹⁷ McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 13. Hellenistic Babylonia tended to follow the old patterns of the structure (e.g. Neo-Assyria): Ibid., 189.

⁹⁸ This is my translation. For the Akkadian normalisation, see AO. 6479, part IV: Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 20.

⁹⁹ Joan Goodnick Westenholz, “The Study of Oral Poetry: Reflections of a Neophyte,” in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 152–153.

¹⁰⁰ A. Leo Oppenheim, “The Position of the Intellectual in Mesopotamian Society,” *Daedalus* 104 (1975): 37–46; Beaulieu, “Late Babylonian,” 478.

¹⁰¹ The *kalû*-priest was able to exercise various roles such as singing, scribe, ritual performance, offering, and purification, as illustrated in “*kalû A*,” CAD, VIII:91-94.

using the Neo-Assyrian and Seleucid sources, perhaps we should see further evidence regarding their educational role from the Neo-Babylonian sources.

2.2. The Educational Role of *kalû*-priests: The Training of the Neo-Babylonian Scholar-Singers

A picture of *kalû*-priests and education in the Neo-Babylonian period can be reconstructed from thousands of discarded exercise tablets and from the colophons of many cuneiform texts. From these we can reconstruct the scribal curriculum and the teaching mode. First, I shall introduce the Neo-Babylonian scribal education curriculum that led to the specialised profession of *kalû*-priests. Second, I shall further explore their training in the mode of father-son apprenticeship. Finally, I shall briefly illustrate the ideological purpose of their education.

2.2.1. The Neo-Babylonian Scribal Education and the Specialised Training of *kalû*

The Neo-Babylonian scribal education curriculum has been thoroughly reconstructed by Gesche,¹⁰² whose lucid study has been frequently cited and is generally accepted.¹⁰³ She examines several hundred fragmentary school tablets, including the typology of numerous tablets, the contents of the exercises, and colophons in different regions,¹⁰⁴ and reconstructs the curriculum, which she divides into two stages of learning.

In the “first grade” (Type 1), students began their initial schooling by mastering the basic principles of using a set of large rectangular tablets for writing lexical lists in

¹⁰² Gesche, *Schulunterricht*.

¹⁰³ E.g., Michael Jursa, “Cuneiform Writing in Neo-Babylonian Temple Communities,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 190–191; Beaulieu, “Late Babylonian,” 474–475; Eleanor Robson, *Mathematics in Ancient Iraq: A Social History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 193–195; Niek Veldhuis, “On the Curriculum of the Neo-Babylonian School,” *JAOS* 123 (2003): 627–633; Charpin, *Reading*, 48–49.

¹⁰⁴ For Gesche’s scope of the text corpus, see Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 36–42.

two sub-types, type 1a and type 1b. Type 1a contains “canonical”¹⁰⁵ lexical lists with colophons, while Type 1b consists of “non-canonical” lists along with some literary and administrative texts.¹⁰⁶ From these we know that the main aim of the first stage of education was to familiarise students with lexical lists and vocabularies. In the “second grade” (Type 2), students used a set of longer tablets for learning literary texts, such as the Epic of Creation (*En ma eliš*), various prayers, the topographical list *Tintir*, and some lexical lists.¹⁰⁷ The second stage thus aimed at a general mastery of the basic texts of the wider Babylonian culture, which had been handed down in standardised versions.¹⁰⁸ From the list of the literary texts taught in the second grade, “[o]ne cannot fail to be struck by the significant place occupied by the city of Babylon and its god Marduk in that corpus.”¹⁰⁹

The Neo-Babylonian two-staged curriculum can be traced back to earlier periods. Van der Toorn, who also posits a two-staged curriculum for the Neo-Assyrian scribal training, describes a very similar elementary (first-grade) education and shows that learning the Sumerian language was a basic prerequisite of the scribal art throughout the ages.¹¹⁰ In the second stage, students could choose to specify one or more disciplines for their future endeavours, whether they wanted to be an astrologer, exorcist, diviner, medical practitioner, or *kalû*-singer.¹¹¹ The Neo-Assyrian curriculum can be reconstructed by a text known as “Examination Text A”, which includes many questions that reflect what students learned in the school. Interestingly,

¹⁰⁵ For Gesche, “kanonischen” simply means “standardised”. Cf. Veldhuis, “Curriculum,” 627–628.

¹⁰⁶ Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 44–49.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 49–57.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 197–198.

¹⁰⁹ Charpin, *Reading*, 48.

¹¹⁰ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 56–57.

¹¹¹ “In the first millennium, students could train as an astrologer (*ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*, literally, “scribe [specializing in the astrological compendium] *Enūma Anu Enlil*”), an exorcist (*āšipu* or *mašmaššu*), a diviner (*bārû*), a medical practitioner (*asû*), or a cult singer (*kalû*). For each of these disciplines, there existed a textual corpus (called *ṭupšarrûtu*, *āšipûtu*, *bārûtu*, *asûtu*, and *kalûtu*, respectively) that served as the basis of the curriculum”: *Ibid.*, 57.

this includes a question on music (using Sjöberg's translation, line 24):

Kennst du [den namnar(?) -Gesang, den nam-...-Gesang], den namgala-Gesang, den nam'ena-Gesang, den nam'uruna-Gesang, den namgina-[Gesang], das Aufteilen (eines Gesanges) in seine (verschiedenen) Teile, [...], den Gegengesang, die Rezitation, das Finale?¹¹²

As can be seen, a pupil had to know technical musical directions such as antiphon, recitation, and stop (*den Gegengesang, die Rezitation, das Finale*). This supports the view that music was a crucial element in the Neo-Assyrian scribal curriculum. This same evidence leads Kilmer to believe that a student needed to master musical theory such that he could differentiate breaks, refrains, and endings, and to master the concept of “changing” (Akkadian *enû*), which means “*when* to change the musical progressions in a given piece of music, and *how* to change from one mode to another.”¹¹³

The mastery of musical theory probably constituted an important part of the Neo-Assyrian scribal curriculum, and this musical approach would have continued in the Neo-Babylonian scribal school because of the general continuity of practices in the first millennium. However, there is no indication of examination in the Neo-Babylonian scribal school.¹¹⁴ It seems probable that there was no such thing as graduation or obtaining a certificate in the Neo-Babylonian scribal education, and musical education probably featured later in specialised training (especially in the *kalûtu* “profession of the lamentation singer”) after the two-staged curriculum, or in learning the musical (or rhythmic) features of literary texts such as *En ma eliš* in the second grade. This testifies to a nuanced difference between the two periods, though

¹¹² Å.W. Sjöberg, “Der Examenstext A,” ZA 64 (1976): 143.

¹¹³ Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, “Musical Practice in Nippur,” in *Nippur at the Centennial*, ed. Maria de Jong Ellis (Philadelphia: S.N. Kramer Fund, Babylonian Section, University Museum, 1992), 102. Italics his

¹¹⁴ Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 198; Ann Löhnert, “Manipulating the Gods: Lamenting in Context,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 408.

the musical approach and the career path of *kalû* remained constantly important.

Dumbrill offers a recent systematic treatment of the musical theory education based on his examination of various musical tablets.¹¹⁵ His main hypothesis is that different musical ratios (or notes), reflected in the first-millennium tablets, correspond to different “god numbers” (An=60; Enlil=50; Ea=40; Sin=30), because the musical sounds generated by certain wooden objects were usually perceived as supernatural voices of the gods.¹¹⁶ These god numbers became the standard tunings for musical instruments,¹¹⁷ with specific gods matched with specific strings.¹¹⁸ Since Dumbrill draws evidence from musical tablets produced in scribal schools, musical direction must have featured in the syllabuses in the first millennium. Therefore, when students completed the two-staged curriculum, they were probably regarded as “scholar-singers”, who could write and chant the traditional Babylonian traditions.

With regard to specialised training in the Neo-Babylonian period, it is unclear whether this took place during or after the two-staged schooling.¹¹⁹ It seems probable that students did not undertake specialised training while at the scribal schools, but that after completing the two-staged curriculum, they sought their employment in various administrative, cultic and government sectors.¹²⁰ For those students seeking higher intellectual specialisations, they could choose at least three kinds of profession, namely the *šip tu*, “profession of the exorcist,” the *kalûtu* “profession of the lamentation singer,” and the *b rûtu*, “profession of the diviner.”¹²¹ I now turn to explore the profession of *kalûtu*, which probably took the form of a father-son

¹¹⁵ Richard J. Dumbrill, *The Archaeomusicology of the Ancient Near East* (Victoria, B.C: Trafford, 2005).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 61–62.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹¹⁹ Löhnert, “Manipulating,” 408.

¹²⁰ Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 213.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 213–216.

apprenticeship.¹²²

2.2.2. The Father-Son Apprenticeship of *kalûtu*

Our main evidence of the specialised training of *kalû*-priests comes from various colophons of tablets from the Neo-Babylonian to the Parthian period (600-80 BCE), which mention the scribes or owners of the texts. From these colophons, we can trace the clans and families of *kalû*-priests, and can thus trace the father-son apprenticeship through generations, reflecting the stages of the career of *kalû*-priests.

In Hunger and Cavigneaux's studies of Babylonian colophons, we can find expressions like "novice lamentation apprentice" (*šamalli*¹²³ *kalê agašgû*),¹²⁴ "lamentation apprentice" (*šamalli kalê*),¹²⁵ and "young lamentation priest" (*galaturru kalû*).¹²⁶ It thus seems likely that young *kalû*-priests (sons) acted as apprentices who followed the lamentation professions of the senior master scholars or older members (fathers) of their family, learning through on-the-job training across the generations.¹²⁷ This father-son apprenticeship probably stemmed from the Old Babylonian period, in which *gala*-priests, who were high ranking officials and highly respected in royal courts and temples,¹²⁸ were frequently regarded as "the head family member normally handing down his profession to his own sons."¹²⁹ Most scholars have agreed that their

¹²² Supported by Charpin, *Reading*, 49–50; Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 474–475.

¹²³ *Šamalli* means "apprentice" in various professions such as "novice exorcist apprentice" (*šamalli āšipu agašgû*): "šamallû", *CAD*, XVII, Part 1:294. It seems that the concept of "apprentice" prevailed in different specialised professions.

¹²⁴ A. Cavigneaux, "Mesopotamian Lamentations," *JAOS* 113 (1993): 254.

¹²⁵ Hermann Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*. (Kevelaer; Neukirchen-Vloyn: Butzon u. Bercker; Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1968), 164.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹²⁷ Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 213; W.G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *JCS* 11 (1957): 1–14.

¹²⁸ Johannes Renger, "Untersuchungen Zum Priestertum Der Altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA* 59 (1969): 198–199.

¹²⁹ Dahlia Shehata, "On the Mythological Background of the Lamentation Priest," in *Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie* (presented at the Vorträge des 5. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Ethnologischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 19.-23. September 2006, Rahden/Westfalen: M. Leidorf, 2008), 123.

associated Sumerian city-laments were transferred from liturgies to the Sumero-Akkadian scribal curriculum, being learnt and copied until the first millennium (cf. Section 2.3.2).¹³⁰ The *emesal* dialect was probably taught in the specialised training of lamentation in the second millennium BCE.¹³¹ This unbroken transmission of lament-traditions presupposed an organic system of training and handling traditions for generations, in which the father-son apprenticeship system best served the purpose.¹³²

Robson offers a diachronic trace of various families, which were related to Anu's temple Reš (the so-called Reš B tablet group), from the Neo-Babylonian to Seleucid Uruk.¹³³ He summarises the overall picture as follows,

[T]he *kalû* Anu-belšunu of the Sin-leqe-unninni family wrote apprenticeship tablets for both his father Nidintu-Anu and one Anu-belšunu of the Ah'utu family. He in turn trained his three sons in *kalûtu*, one of whom – Anu-aba-uter – also learned mathematical astronomy from Šamaš-e ir of the Ekur-zakir family (who as a younger man had written scholarly tablets for Anu-uballi of the Hunzu family). Šamaš-e ir was an *šīpu* and the chief priest of Reš, who also held the title *upšar En ma Anu Enlil*. After his apprenticeship with Šamaš-e ir had concluded, Anu-aba-uter also called himself *upšar En ma Anu Enlil* and went on to teach at least one member of his own family as well as an Ekur-zakir boy.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ E.g., Walter C. Bouzard, *We Have Heard with Our Ears, O God: Sources of the Communal Laments in the Psalms*, SBLDS 159 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 60; W.C. Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations in the Context of Near Eastern Lament Literature," in *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method*, ed. William W. Hallo, James C. Moyer, and Leo G. Perdue (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 196; Michael Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott: eine Untersuchung der alttestamentlichen Volksklagelieder vor dem Hintergrund der mesopotamischen Literatur*, FAT 21 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 18.

¹³¹ Ann Löhnert, "Scribes and Singers of Emesal Lamentation in Ancient Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium BCE," in *Papers on Ancient Literatures: Greece, Rome and Near East*, ed. Ettore Cingano and Lucio Milano (Padova: Sargon, 2008), 436–437.

¹³² Scholars have agreed that the Old Babylonian *edubba* "tablet house" (Sumero-Akkadian scribal education) took up the mode of father-son apprenticeship: Carr, *Tablet*, 21; Eleanor Robson, "The Tablet House: A Scribal School in Old Babylonian Nippur," *RA* 93 (2001): 62; Andrew R. George, "In Search of the E.dub.ba.a: The Ancient Mesopotamian School in Literature and Reality," in *An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein*, ed. Yitschak Sefati (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2005), 130–131.

¹³³ Robson, *Mathematics*, 240–260. For a chart of the social network, see *Ibid.*, 256.

¹³⁴ Eleanor Robson, "The Production and Dissemination of Scholarly Knowledge," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 565.

From this case study, we know a lot about the complex mechanism of the father-son apprenticeship system. It seems that the study of *kalûtu* was passed down the families, and students at some point took over the teaching position of their fathers.¹³⁵ They not only acquired knowledge of a particular profession (e.g. *kalûtu*) but also learned multiple disciplines such as “exorcist” (*šipu*) and “scribe” (*upšar*). This testifies to a typical familial network prevailing from the sixth century onwards in various cultic and political centres such as Babylon and Uruk.¹³⁶ The same kind of father-son apprenticeship can be traced back to the Neo-Assyrian period as well.¹³⁷

2.2.3. Education as Building the Ideological Identity of *kalû*

What was the purpose of the apprenticeship of *kalû*? As scholars have agreed, the role and purpose of *kalûtu* was to appease the hearts of angry gods by performing appropriate musical rites and chanting various lament-songs. This helped to avert the wrath of gods and fostered stability. The ideological reasoning behind this can be seen in the description of the origin of *gala*-priest.

Shehata gives a succinct examination of a brief mythological text (BM 29616 published by Karmer), talking about the origin and special status of *gala*-priests.¹³⁸ A portion of the text writes (using Kramer’s translation, II. 20-28):

“Enki heard these words, took counsel with himself in the k i g a l
He fashioned for her the g a l a, him of the heart-soothing laments [...],
He arranged his mournful laments of supplication...,
He placed the *a ulap*-uttering u b and l i l i s in his hand.
Enki sent him who [...] to holy Inana:
‘Oh [...] queen, may your heart be soothed, seat yourself on the throne,
The g a l a has made available to you the *a ulap*-uttering laments of supplication, a night(?) of

¹³⁵ Cf. Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 215–216.

¹³⁶ See also Beaulieu, “Late Babylonian,” 475.

¹³⁷ Andrew R. George, “Gilgamesh and the Literature of Mesopotamia,” in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 453–455; Rochberg, “Scribes and Scholars,” 359–375.

¹³⁸ Shehata, “Mythological Background,” 119–125.

supplication,
The god/goddess [...], he/she of the [...],
Has arranged for you the precious(?) (divine) plans and rituals.¹³⁹

The text describes how Enki created *gala* and offers him special repertoire, lamentation songs, and musical instruments, in order to appease the heart of goddess Inanna, who wished to destroy all humans. This description characterises *gala*-priests as the class of divine origin, exercising an irreplaceable cultic function, so that their music could be played in a way that would soothe the gods' hearts and bring worldwide stability. In this way, the *gala*-priest became a mediator, who could both interact with the gods (or even engage in "an imitation of god" *imitatio dei*) and act as a priest within human society. This intermediate status demonstrates how *gala*-priests sought ideal humanity in the imitation of the gods.

In sum, the Neo-Babylonian intellectual education probably took place in two stages, in which students learned basic cuneiform writing through lexical lists (first grade) and Babylonian culture through traditional literary texts (second grade). Music probably played a crucial part during the training process, but may have featured more highly later on, in specialised training undertaken after scribal school. At this point, students sought employment in various professions, of which the profession of lamentation expert (*kalûtu*) was the most important. In this specialised lamentation training, young *kalû*-priests took up the profession of their fathers not only in chanting, but also in the mastery of lament-traditions, cuneiform writing, and ritual performance for the purpose of appeasing the hearts of angry gods in different liturgical settings. Thus generations of students learned to be "scholar-singers" within the familial network, and saw themselves as mediators between the divine and the mundane realms.

¹³⁹ Quoted in Ibid., 122.

One function of this scribal-musical approach was to ensure the faithful transmission and memorisation of traditions. It therefore seems natural here to investigate the scribal role of *kalû*-priests.

2.3. The Scribal Role of *kalû*-priests: The Oral-Written Transmission of the Babylonian Traditions

In their classic ethnographic hypothesis, Parry and Lord rely on ethnographic evidence from twentieth-century Serbia to argue that the Homeric epic was orally composed. This theory (known as the Parry-Lord theory) suggests that this method of oral composition did not necessarily generate *verbatim* copies of oral performance. Rather, different performances of a single tradition can be considered “the same” even though they might not follow exactly the same wordings.¹⁴⁰ Many classicists have built on this theory in their exploration of the formation of the Homeric epic. However, two factors hinder its full application to Mesopotamian epics and hymns.

First, writing was invented much earlier in Mesopotamia than it was among the Greeks. Although, for instance, Shulgi’s hymns were not fixed *verbatim* and might have differed across various cultic performances, writing on cuneiform tablets was still the main means for the transmission of the hymns, alongside their oral context. We thus see a dual transmission (i.e. oral and written) of royal hymns across centuries, and this ongoing transmission was fluid in different recontextualisations. Only in the first millennium can we find a more stable transmission of authoritative texts with the emergence of the concept of “libraries”. Writing in the Old Babylonian period was not primarily for preservation¹⁴¹ but for scribal instruction. Therefore, the uses of writing

¹⁴⁰ Milman Parry, “Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style,” *HSCP* 41 (1930): 73–147; Milman Parry, “Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry,” *HSCP* 43 (1932): 1–50; Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy (Cambridge, Mass: HUP, 2000).

¹⁴¹ Niek Veldhuis, *Elementary Education at Nippur: The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects* (Groningen:

surely affected the way in which epics and hymns were composed and transmitted more than the purely oral context suggested by the Parry-Lord theory.¹⁴²

Second, this theory proposes an absolute incompatibility of oral and written compositions.¹⁴³ The invention of writing spoiled the oral traditions and tended to freeze them into a unitary and authoritative written version. However, it is harder to apply this incompatibility to the Mesopotamian epics, because music and writing were the dominant parts of scribal curriculum. As I have shown, many hymns and epics were embedded with musical elements. Without a grasp of musical theory and some level of professional literacy, these compositions could not have been decoded. Again, this suggests a dual transmission (i.e. music and writing), and that scholar-singers were responsible for preserving the transmission by memory, with the tablets providing some control.

Nonetheless, the Parry-Lord theory is still valid insofar as it supports the view that the oral-musical settings of a given tradition should be taken into consideration. The fluidity of oral contexts did not mean that traditions were transmitted wrongly or carelessly. Even though a given tradition varied across settings, it could still be perceived as “the same” tradition. In what follows, I shall show how musical-written transmission worked in Mesopotamian literature.

2.3.1. Authorship in Ancient Mesopotamia

It is pertinent at this point to discuss the concepts of scholar-singers’ authorship and innovation. Authorship in ancient Mesopotamia should not be pictured as it is in

Styx, 1997), 135.

¹⁴² For a similar argument, see Joseph Russo, “Oral Theory: Its Development in Homeric Studies and Applicability to Other Literatures,” in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. Marianna F. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 19–21.

¹⁴³ Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 129.

modern print culture, where originality and silent reading prevail.¹⁴⁴ Ancient scholar-singers respected the antiquity and authority of a given tradition even though there was ongoing scribal reworking and adaptation of older literary works.¹⁴⁵ They regularly copied compositions and reworked them for their own ideological recontextualisations, generating numerous cuneiform tablets that were read primarily within the scribes' esoteric circle and not by the exoteric public.¹⁴⁶

Most of these tablets were either anonymous or ascribed to authoritative figures and divine authorship. The colophons on these tablets only show the owner or the copyist.¹⁴⁷ "Authorship" simply means that scholar-singers were the main perpetrators of traditions, with different recontextualisations according to different royal ideologies and cultural settings. However, certain traditions, motifs and metaphors (though they appeared in different guises) also occupied a central and authoritative place, rooted in the mind of all Mesopotamian scholar-singers. Traditions (or "stream of tradition", using Oppenheim's famous term¹⁴⁸) in the Ur III and the Old Babylonian periods were transmitted in an extremely fluid way and became more stable in the first millennium.¹⁴⁹ This ongoing recontextualisation shows "the never-ending project of hermeneutics",¹⁵⁰ albeit with different degrees of creativity in the historical continuum.

2.3.2. The Musical-Written Transmission of Traditions

A dual transmission, with interplay between oral and written settings, is evident in

¹⁴⁴ Hallo, *Origins*, 148.

¹⁴⁵ William W. Hallo, "New Viewpoints on Cuneiform Literature," *IEJ* 12 (1962): 14–18.

¹⁴⁶ H.L.J. Vanstiphout, "Some Remarks On Cuneiform Écritures," in *Scripta Signa Vocis*, ed. H.L.J. Vanstiphout et al. (Groningen: Forsten, 1986), 226–227.

¹⁴⁷ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 27–49.

¹⁴⁸ A. Leo Oppenheim, "Assyriology- Why and How?," *Current Anthropology* 1 (1960): 412.

¹⁴⁹ Veldhuis, "Mesopotamian Canon," 11–27.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

many ethnographic discoveries. Many poems were composed to be sung. For instance, a Babylonian tablet, dated in the Persian period, called “the Converse Tablet” was composed for the cult of Nabû, with a musical presentation of the text.¹⁵¹ It contains three kinds of musical gloss; musical instructions at the left margin of the tablet, vowel signs as an aid for pronunciation, and musical references within the content of the tablet.¹⁵² The Old Babylonian *Atraḥasīs* Epic was also composed with melodic and rhythmic patterns that signified that it was to be sung.¹⁵³ Musical instructions also appear in some Old Babylonian tablets relating to hymnody,¹⁵⁴ and the art of music appears in many Mesopotamian epics along with punning and wordplay.¹⁵⁵ Cooper also comments, “[A]ll literature throughout the Old Babylonian period, at least, was composed for performance, and the performance was musical ... When we think ‘literature’ in ancient Mesopotamia, we must hear constant, surely strange, melody.”¹⁵⁶

Several examples demonstrate a diachronic expansion or reworking of texts. In the propaganda letter that promotes the interpretation of songs as an item in the scribal curriculum in the Nippur school, it is possible to trace how a short letter in eighteenth century BCE Nippur was expanded (to almost twice the size) and recontextualised over a very long time, until the Late-Babylonian period (almost 1,500 years).¹⁵⁷ This strikingly long-lived transmission suggests that there were scribal schools that were

¹⁵¹ W.G. Lambert, “The Converse Tablet: A Litany with Musical Instructions,” in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Hans Goedicke (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 335–353.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 338–344.

¹⁵³ Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, “Fugal Features of *Atraḥasīs*: The Birth Theme,” in *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Groningen: Styx, 1996), 127–139.

¹⁵⁴ Anne Draffkorn Kilmer and Miguel Civil, “Old Babylonian Musical Instructions Relating to Hymnody,” *JCS* 38 (1986): 94–98.

¹⁵⁵ Stephanie Dalley, ed., *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xvii.

¹⁵⁶ Jerrold S. Cooper, “Babbling Orr: Recovering Mesopotamian Orality,” in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 114–115.

¹⁵⁷ Miguel Civil, “From the Epistolary of the Edubba,” in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature*, ed. A. Raymond George and Irving L. Finkel (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 105–118.

concerned with the promotion of the scribal curriculum and the interpretation of songs for almost 1,500 years. Moreover, we see how the design of curriculums, based on teaching sequential hymns (the Decad and the Tetrad), corresponded to the diachronic development of these hymns from simple to complex.¹⁵⁸ Yet this expansion followed some literary conventions, which indicate that the Old Babylonian scribes would have learnt how to recontextualise old literary texts to create something new. Since the mastery of musical theory was probably a basic prerequisite of learning these hymns, this suggests that musical instructions were employed in the process of recontextualisation and expansion.

We can demonstrate the oral-written transmission through the transmission of lament-traditions by *kalû*-priests. The Mesopotamian lamentation songs consist of three different but interrelated types: the Sumerian city-lament, *balag*, and *eršemma*.¹⁵⁹ These are described below.

First, the term “city-lament” usually refers to the five laments describing the destruction of Sumerian cities in the Ur III period, namely, “Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur”, “Eridu Lament”, “Uruk Lament”, “Nippur Lament”, and “Ekimar Lament”.¹⁶⁰ These city-laments depict the destruction of specific historical cities and the theological causes for their destruction, in order to legitimate the restoration of these cities for the new dynasty.¹⁶¹ In the Old Babylonian period, these city-laments were used once and then retired to the scribal school.¹⁶²

Second, the term “*balag*-lament” refers to the literary growth of the older city-laments without reference to any specific city.¹⁶³ It was written in *emesal* (the

¹⁵⁸ Steve Tinney, “On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature,” *Iraq* 61 (1999): 159–172.

¹⁵⁹ For a brief introduction, see Gwaltney, “The Biblical Book of Lamentations,” 194–200.

¹⁶⁰ Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 18–20.

¹⁶¹ William S. Morrow, *Protest Against God: The Eclipse of a Biblical Tradition*, HBM 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 83.

¹⁶² Cf. footnote 130.

¹⁶³ Bouzard writes, “whereas the city laments were composed for a specific occasion and then almost

city-laments use main dialect), a specific dialect closely associated with the routine liturgies of *kalû*-priests. This indicates the recurrent use of these laments in scribal schools and cult-places from the Old Babylonian period to the Seleucid era.¹⁶⁴ The *Sitz im Leben* of *balag* was the demolition, foundation-laying, reconstruction, and restoration of temples,¹⁶⁵ and was used to appease the gods' hearts in the hope of fostering the order and stability of city, land, and kingdom.¹⁶⁶

Third, *eršemma* was a single compact lament unit with a single theme, also written in *emesal*, but without the part that aimed to appease the gods.¹⁶⁷ During the Middle Babylonian period, *balag* and *eršemma* were joined together,¹⁶⁸ demonstrating the transmission and reworking of lament-texts both for musical cultic performance and for the written scribal culture.

In this way, the oral-written transmission of the city-laments (the Ur III period) and *balag-eršemma* (the first millennium) shows what Emmendorffer calls, "die Wiederverwendbarkeit der Texte."¹⁶⁹ The *kalû*-priests were responsible for the composition, transmission, and reworking of these texts, adapting them to their routine ritual calendar down the ages. Later on, *balag-eršemma* became relatively standardised in fixed ceremonies in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Seleucid periods.¹⁷⁰ In this way, the transmission of *balag-eršemma* shows how *kalû*-priests recontextualised the older patterns (e.g. themes and motifs) of the city-laments in

immediately retired from use, the *balags* and *eršemmas* found employment in the ongoing cultic activities of the *gala* priesthood who composed them and preserved them.": Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 98.

¹⁶⁴ Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 20; Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 197–198; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 83.

¹⁶⁵ Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 22; Claus Westermann, *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 16; Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 198.

¹⁶⁶ Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 24–25, 36, 293.

¹⁶⁷ Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 196–197; Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 74.

¹⁶⁸ Mark E. Cohen, *Balag-Compositions: Sumerian Lamentation Liturgies of the Second and First Millennium B.C.* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1974), 9–10.

¹⁶⁹ Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 36.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

order to create something new for their liturgies, offering a strong example of scribal-musical transmission.

2.3.3. The Concept of Divine Inspiration

The recontextualisation of Mesopotamian epics and hymns with a tendency towards standardisation was closely connected to the theological concept of divine inspiration. Texts claiming divine authorship occupied a more authoritative place, such that later scholar-singers preferred to preserve them with a lesser degree of creativity and offered renewed commentaries on them across generations.¹⁷¹

An Ishtar hymn depicts the concept of “divine inspiration” using the phrase “Ea’s own words,”¹⁷² showing the concept of “prophecy”, in which “song” carried divine messages through the “mouth” of singers. The divine authorship attributed to the god Ea appears also in many Babylonian texts,¹⁷³ and, among them, the corpus of the lamenters (*al tu*) was attributed to Ea as well.¹⁷⁴

Tablet VII of *En ma eliš* proclaims the 50 divine names of Marduk. The epilogue of this tablet claims divine revelation from the “first one” (i.e. Marduk) so that every master and pupil in subsequent years should perpetuate it and never forget it (using Foster’s translation, lines 145-150):

They must be grasped: the “first one” should reveal (them),
The wise and knowledgeable should ponder (them) together,
The master should repeat, and make the pupil understand.
The “shepherd,” and “herdsman” should pay attention,
He must not neglect the Enlil of the gods, Marduk,

¹⁷¹ Gabbay, “Akkadian Communitaries,” 271–287.

¹⁷² Benjamin R. Foster, ed., *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2005), 87.

¹⁷³ Gabbay, “Akkadian Communitaries,” 275–276.

¹⁷⁴ Charpin, *Reading*, 179.

So his land may prosper and he himself be safe.¹⁷⁵

This master-pupil description brings us back to the father-son educational context, in which scholar-singers were trained to perpetuate holy traditions through reciting songs. In the Neo-Assyrian myth of Erra, we can see a close connection between divine revelation and the responsibility of singers to perpetuate the song (using Foster's translation, lines 42-44):

The composer of its text was Kabti-ilani-Marduk,
of the family Dabibi.
He revealed it at night, and, just as he (the god?) had discoursed it
while he (K.) was coming awake, he (K.) omitted nothing at all,
Nor one line did he did.¹⁷⁶

The poet claims that he did not omit a single line from the divine revelation, suggesting a profound attentiveness to divine speech and its faithful transmission.

In summary, the concept of divine authorship ensured that those responsible for promoting well-being (cf. worldwide stability) preserved and transmitted inspired texts through chanting. If these divine blessings were channelled from the realm of gods (the holy realm), then we can assume that scholar-singers would have acted as mediators between the public and the gods. Scholar-singers were responsible for recontextualising older traditions, and this was probably done in scribal schools according to different royal ideologies, scribal training, cultic settings, and their contemporary needs, in which music was one main device for the scribal-musical transmission. The transmission of *balag-eršemma* through *kalû*-priests gives an illustrative example regarding this. Since the transmission of holy traditions was essential to the cultic performance, it seems natural to examine next the liturgical aspect of scholar-singer.

¹⁷⁵ Foster, *Before the Muses*, 484–485.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 910.

2.4. The Liturgical Aspect of *kalû*-priests: The Role of Music in Fostering Well-being and Security

I have already shown that most of the transmitted texts (e.g. *balag-eršemma*) were highly religious, and that they occasionally claimed to be divinely inspired. I have also shown that *kalû*-priests transmitted *balag* on the one hand and performed musical cults on the other. In this section, I shall further show that the multi-functional role of *kalû*-priests was to help Mesopotamian kings foster their well-being and the stability of city, land, and kingdom. Then I will explore the Babylonian temple ideology associated with scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests.

2.4.1. The Liturgy of *kalû*: Singing to Promote Well-being and Stability

In this section, I will focus on surveying the liturgical role of the first-millennium *kalû*-priests, and will investigate the theological implications of the role.

Our knowledge of the rituals of *kalû*-priests is relatively comprehensive due to the availability of many well-documented texts.¹⁷⁷ From these written sources, we know the different roles of these singers, their social status and organisation, their ritual procedures, and their cultic ideology. It must however be noted that, despite the availability of administrative letters from the Neo-Assyrian period and ritual texts from the Seleucid period, very little survives of the *kalû* ritual text from the Neo-Babylonian period, the period in between. However, there is no evidence that the ritual activities of *kalû*-priests were radically altered in the Neo-Babylonian period, though there may have been some minor adjustments of the liturgical procedure to suit various cultic settings. The Neo-Babylonian colophons suggest that the literary activities of *kalû*-priests remained active, and the Neo-Babylonian transmission of *balag-eršemma* suggests that the scribal reworking of traditional lament-texts

¹⁷⁷ See the text-corpus edited by Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*.

continued and prevailed, which also indicates the active cultic performance of lamentation-songs in the period.¹⁷⁸ This was most clearly the case during the frequent demolition and reconstruction of temples in the times of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical school also remained one of the active enterprises for preparing young *kalû*-priests to commence the specialised training of *kalûtu*. Many colophons of the Seleucid ritual texts claim that the Hellenistic *kalû*-priests copied the ritual procedure from older tablets (some templates can be dated to the seventh century BCE).¹⁸⁰ When these pieces of evidence are taken together, it seems probable that the liturgical activities of *kalû*-priests enjoyed an unbroken continuity from the Neo-Assyrian to the Seleucid periods. Although we do not have any *kalû* ritual texts from the Neo-Babylonian period, we can still gain insights from the Neo-Assyrian and the Seleucid texts, which will aid our study of the *general* functional roles of the Neo-Babylonian *kalû*-priests regardless of the exact details of the liturgical procedure.

Kalû-priests were highly respected professionals and well-educated persons in royal courts and temples. Their main job was to appease the hearts of angry gods in the cultic context of the demolition and restoration of temples, in order to foster the

¹⁷⁸ For example, a library of *kalû* (dated from 137 to 86 BCE) was found in Babylon, showing that the dialect of *emesal* were preserved, and some colophons show that the texts were “to be sung” (*ana zamāri*), probably in cultic context: S.M. Maul, “Nos 2-18: Bilingual (Sumero-Akkadian) Hymns from the Seleucid-Arsacid Period,” in *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volume 2: Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.*, ed. Ira Spar and W.G. Lambert (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 11–116.

¹⁷⁹ Löhnert writes, “the lamentation experts had established standardized editions of the majority of Emesal lamentations, which they performed as routine elements of daily cultic practice”: Löhnert, “Manipulating,” 414. For example, Nabonidus, a Neo-Babylonian king, restored the sanctuaries of Marduk and Sin by stationing *kalû*-priests for “the appeasement of the angry gods and the resettlement of their seats to (be the pious duty of) my [i.e. Nabonidus’] rule”: *ANET*, 311. Many Neo-Babylonian inscriptions frequently depict how Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus sought the old foundations of ancient temples, in order to build new temples on the same ancient sites: Richard S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, YNER 2 (New Haven: YUP, 1968), 180–183. This setting of the demolition and reconstruction of temples exactly matches the *Sitz im Leben* of the ritual of *kalû*-priests.

¹⁸⁰ See footnotes 185, 192 and 200.

well-being and security of their city, land, and kingdom. They belong to one of the three groups of cultic professionals¹⁸¹ accompanying and assisting the “incomer” (*urigallu*).¹⁸² They often performed hand in hand with “chanters” (*nâru*),¹⁸³ singing and playing musical instruments, and their lamentation songs were of a particular type, crafted in the dialect *emesal*. They often chaired the ceremonies in which sacrifices were offered to the twelve great gods, and performed purifications, recitations, libations, prayers, and laments. They behaved as mediators, attempting to get in touch with the divine world. They also created their own musical instrument, which was believed to have a divine origin and to be capable of appeasing the gods’ hearts.¹⁸⁴

In a text-corpus about the temple programme for the New Year Festival in Babylon,¹⁸⁵ the *urigallu*-priest performed a variety of rituals involving complex procedures. The same instruction appears at nearly every break in the procedures, reading, “the *kalû*-priests and the singers shall do likewise” (^l*amil*^{pl}*kalê* *u* ^{amil}*nârê*^{pl} *šaniš*) (lines 40, 185, 275, 335) (translated by Sachs).¹⁸⁶ This suggests that *kalû*-priests (and *nâru*) were expected to follow the exact ritual procedure of *urigallu*-priests. From the text-corpus, we know that *kalû*-priests needed to perform duties such as recitation, gate-opening, prayer, washing, stone-carrying, working as goldsmiths, slaughtering, purification, incantation, exorcising, and the *kuppuru*-ritual. These roles are also reflected in other *kalû* rituals, such as sacrificing,¹⁸⁷ hand-cleaning,¹⁸⁸ purification,¹⁸⁹

¹⁸¹ That is, “incantator” (*mashmashu*), “lamerter” (*kalû*), and “chanter” (*nâru*).

¹⁸² For “incomer”, see Dhorme, *Les Religions*, 205–206.

¹⁸³ For “chanter”, see *Ibid.*, 209.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 207–209.

¹⁸⁵ This text-corpus is dated in the Seleucid period but the programme depicted would have followed a much earlier period (e.g. line 185 states, “their rites in the traditional manner.”). For transcriptions and French translations, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 127–154. For an English translation (by A. Sachs), see *ANET*, 331–334.

¹⁸⁶ *ANET*, 331–333.

¹⁸⁷ Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 16.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 27, 33.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

and mouth-washing.¹⁹⁰

In “the ritual of the *kalû*-priest”¹⁹¹ in the restoration of a temple,¹⁹² *kalû*-priests chaired the ceremony “for the purpose of demolishing and founding anew the temple” (line 1, translated by Sachs).¹⁹³ They mainly sang various lamentation songs, accompanied by the *al allatu*-instrument (related to *eršemma*), for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. They also performed the *kuppuru*-ritual, purified, and made libation. During lamentation-singing and sacrificing, they were required to do the following procedure (Text B, reverse, lines 9-14, using Sachs’ translation):

You shall sing the lamentations (called) “*Umunšermallašu ankia*” and “*Nitug niginam*.” You shall sing (the composition entitled) “*Ud Ana Enlilla Enki ankia mundimdimene*.” ... You shall remove the sacrificial accoutrements and shall lay the foundation until the temple is completed. You shall not interrupt making sacrifices and lamentations. Once the foundation is laid, you shall purify that place with purification rituals. (The above is) the ritual of the *kalû*-priest.¹⁹⁴

In this portion, we see a synchronisation of lament-songs and sacrifices during the foundation-laying of the temple. This synchronisation was supposed not to be interrupted until the foundation was laid. Purification then followed, ensuring the purity of the cultic place. All of these jobs were entrusted to *kalû*-priests for the purpose of fostering stability and well-being.

In his study of the annals of Assyrian kings, Talon gives a plausible account of how astrology and divination helped to promote well-being and security. Assyrian professionals, including *kalû*-priests, needed to watch out for any signs of evil, in order to prevent any harm to their king, who represented a mirror image of Aššur to

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 21.

¹⁹¹ This phrase is well-defined in their ritual text (e.g. line 15 in *ANET*, 339).

¹⁹² Two texts are dated in the Seleucid time but they “are probably copies of older ones”: *ANET*, 339. For transcriptions and French translations, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 34–40. For an English translation (by Sachs), see *ANET*, 339–342.

¹⁹³ *ANET*, 339.

¹⁹⁴ *ANET*, 341.

guide against darkness and wrongdoing.¹⁹⁵ They needed to perform the right songs and ritual practices in order to foster harmony between the divine and the mundane realms. This explains why the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal invested heavily in the education of astrological and musical professions for his own health.¹⁹⁶

In Assyrian burial ceremonies, burnt-offerings and hymnic performance were two indispensable parts of the rite. This collaboration of sacrificial service and singing also took place in expiatory rites for the farmer (using Parpola's translation):

We have rites to perform ton[ight]: I shall perform one against "Loss of Flesh," and Urad-Ea another one before Enlil. We shall go to the *qirsu*. Yesterday I performed the ritual of *Bit* [r]i[mki]. I made a burnt-offering and we executed a purification ritual. I have appointed an exorcist for the chanter who is here, and gave him the following orders: "For six days do likewise, performing the purification ritual after this (fashion)."¹⁹⁷

This rite comprised of three parts: the sacrifice of a burnt-offering (*ma-qa-lu-tû*), purification (*tak-pir-tû*), and hymnic performance before Enlil. These cultic portions were entrusted to a *kalû*-priest together with an exorcist.¹⁹⁸ It seems that *kalû*-priests were responsible for the performance and coordination of burnt-offerings and purification that had already been standardised in various ritual performances (the expression, "For six days do likewise," implies the standardisation). Furthermore, in Seleucid times *kalû*-singers were heavily involved in rites for the purification of a city, which they performed together with exorcists. The liturgical procedure included pouring water and sacrificing an animal.¹⁹⁹ Therefore, we can surmise that *kalû*-priests could purify, chant, and offer sacrifices.

¹⁹⁵ Philippe Talon, "Cases of Deviation in Neo-Assyrian Annals and Foundation Documents," in *Ritual and Politics in Ancient Mesopotamia*, ed. Barbara Nevling Porter (New Haven, Conn: American Oriental Society, 2005), 99–100.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 113–114.

¹⁹⁷ Lines 9-r.15: Parpola, *Letters*, 169.

¹⁹⁸ For their co-operation, see Richard Henshaw, *Female and Male: The Cultic Personnel: The Bible and the Rest of the Ancient Near East* (Allison Park Pa.: Pickwick Publications, 1994), 94–95.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 95.

Another rite involved *kalû*-priests playing cultic kettle-drums while a bull was brought in for professional inspection; this was followed by incense and the pouring of beer, and then food offerings. A meal was then prepared for the twelve gods, with twelve garments provided for them.

During the burnt-offering, in which the bull was slain and sacrificed, the *kalû*-priests sang incantations and lamentations, again with kettle-drums. See the below translation by Thureau-Dangin:

On (the bricks) you shall lay twelve (pieces of) linen. On them you shall ease all twelve gods. You shall lift up the *egubb* -vessel of the deity Ningirim and with its water you shall clean the equipment prepared for the ceremony. You shall sprinkle some (aromatic?) barley seed. You shall set up the kettle-drum. You shall lay a brick for the deity Lumha. You shall set up a stand. You shall slaughter a sheep ... On the bull you shall perform the rite of Washing the Mouth ... Standing at its [bull's] head, you shall sing (the composition called) "*Nitugki niginna*" to the accompaniment of a bronze *al allatu*. After that, you shall recite (the composition entitled) "*Dimmer ... ankia mundimma*." Then you shall cut open that bull and start a fire with cedar. You shall burn the bull's heart with cedar, cypress, and *ma atu*-flour before the kettle-drum.²⁰⁰

There is evidence here of a complex and detailed procedure of vessel-lifting, water-cleansing, barley-sprinkling, playing the kettle-drum, slaughtering the animal, mouth-washing (for a statue), singing incantations and lamentations, and sacrificing.

To summarise this section, we have seen that the multiple roles of *kalû*-priests are described in the ritual texts called "the ritual of *kalû*-priest", which depict the complex procedure of *kalû*-priests in the Near Year Festival and in the restoration of a temple. These texts show that *kalû*-priests exercised many roles such as sacrificing, lamentation-singing, instrument-playing, purification, gatekeeping, and washing. They

²⁰⁰ *ANET*, 335. Though this text comes from the Seleucid period, the liturgy itself can be traced back to the seventh century BCE in Babylonia as exemplified in Text B-D: *ANET*, 334-338. The quoted text is written on a cuneiform tablet with a colophon reading: "Ritual of the *kalû*-priest. Tablet belonging to Anuahaidin, the son of Rihatanu, the *kala-mahhu*-priest ... It was copied from an old(er) tablet, checked, and rechecked." (*ANET*, 336.) This colophon suggests that (1) a *kalû*-priest could own a tablet; and (2) the exact procedure of the ritual was important in its every detail (checked and rechecked).

were highly important and well-respected persons involved in rituals for appeasing the gods' hearts and bringing the well-being and stability of the city, people, and kingdom.

2.4.2. The Temple as Realised Template and Holiness

As mentioned before (Section 2.2.1), students in the second grade of the Neo-Babylonian scribal education learned the wider Babylonian traditional texts such as the Epic of Creation (*En ma eliš*). These traditional texts formed the foundation of students' education, before the students undertook higher specialised professions including *kalûtu*. The texts ensured that all *kalû*-priests and other scholar-singers knew the ideological background of cultic performance, especially the *akitu*-festival, when they chanted lamentation-songs and *En ma eliš* in the Neo-Babylonian liturgical settings.

In this section, I discuss one of the main ideological formations represented in *En ma eliš*, the concept of the temple as realised template. This idea is instrumental to our understanding of the Neo-Babylonian scholarly ideology related to the cult of Marduk and the liturgy of *kalû*.

En ma eliš dates back to the 12th century BCE.²⁰¹ Frahm gives a study of the reception history of *En ma eliš*, showing that the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings recontextualised the epic in their ideological formation of royal cults.²⁰² This presupposes the ongoing reworking of this standardised epic in various scribal workshops. I think that its popularity was mainly due to the richness and comprehensiveness of the ideas associated with the concept of the temple as realised template and the extent to which it served the theological, social, and political purposes of articulating the legitimacy of temple sites.

²⁰¹ W.G. Lambert, "Studies in Marduk," *BSOAS* 47 (1984): 4–6.

²⁰² Frahm, *Babylonian*, 345–364.

The promotion of a particular deity to the top of the pantheon somehow reflected the distribution of political powers in Mesopotamia. The patron god of a city would have taken the highest position when that city occupied the political and cultural centre of Mesopotamia.²⁰³ For example, in the Neo-Assyrian version of *En ma eliš* during the reign of Sargon II, the god Aššur ruled.²⁰⁴ But Aššur no longer enjoyed such status as when the Neo-Babylonian Empire was established with Babylon as the political centre, as it was then Marduk, the patron god of Babylon, who came to occupy the top of the pantheon. Once Marduk gained superiority, the ideas surrounding the notion of the temple as realised template would have been useful to add authenticity to his cult. It would therefore be intriguing to see how the concept of the temple as realised template was used in *En ma eliš*, and in Chapter Three I shall explore its appropriation in the city of Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian period.

En ma eliš describes how Marduk waged battle against Tiamat (“the Sea”) and defeated her, and then used her corpse to fashion the world, in which Babylon was the centre. Marduk’s creation of the world has become an analogy to the ideological fashioning of the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon, which was built as the counterpart of various levels of the heavenly residence of gods. For example, Marduk created Babylon as the earthly counterpart to Esharra, the dwelling place of the gods in heaven (using Foster’s translation, Tablet V of *En ma eliš*, lines 119-122):

Above Apsu, the azure dwelling,
As a counterpart to Esharra, which I built for you,
Below the firmament, whose grounding I made firm,
A house I shall build, let it be the abode of my pleasure.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Beate Pongratz-Leisten, “mental map und Weltbild in Mesopotamien,” in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 264.

²⁰⁴ Frahm, *Babylonian*, 350–351.

²⁰⁵ Foster, *Before the Muses*, 467.

The Epic further depicts that Marduk divided the gods of heaven and the underworld, regarding the Esagila temple as the counterpart of Apsu, the domain of the underworld (using Foster's translation, Tablet VI of *En ma eliš*, lines 62-66):

They raised the head of Esagila, the counterpart of Apsu,
They built the upper ziggurat of Apsu,
For Anu-Enlil-Ea they founded his ... and dwelling.
He took his seat in sublimity before them,
Its pinnacles were facing toward the base of Esharra.²⁰⁶

Another section also speaks of similar concepts (using Foster's translation, Tablet IV of *En ma eliš*, lines 142-146):

He made a counterpart to Apsu, the dwelling of Nudimmud.
The Lord measured the construction of Apsu,
He founded the Great Sanctuary, the likeness of Esharra.
(In) the Great Sanctuary, (in) Esharra,
which he built, (and in) heaven,
He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in their holy places.²⁰⁷

It thus seems that the earthly temple was understood as providing the terrestrial counterparts of the heavenly abodes, showing how the concept of the temple as realised template contributed to the ideological understanding of the Mesopotamian temples, especially the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon.

Janowski offers a brief diachronic overview of the Mesopotamian temple ideologies by exploring *En ma eliš* and the older temple hymns of Gudea of Lagash.²⁰⁸ He mainly articulates the Mesopotamian worldviews represented by the terms "world mountain" and "template". The former notion signifies a temple (built

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 471.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 462.

²⁰⁸ Bernd Janowski, "Der Himmel auf Erden: Zur kosmologischen Bedeutung des Tempels in der Umwelt Israels," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 232–242, 251–253.

on a holy hill) as the centre of creation, reaching the heavenly residence of the gods,²⁰⁹ while the latter designates the earthly temple as the counterpart of the heavenly temple or underworld.²¹⁰ Regarding Marduk as a temple builder, he writes:

Der Tempel ist das Abblid des Weltbergs/Urhügels, der als erster aus der Urflut auftauchte und von dem aus die Schöpfung der Welt erfolgte. Die Bezeichnungen „Haus, Fundament von Himmel und Erde“ (é-te-men-an-ki) und „Band von Himmel und Erde“ (dur-an-ki) sind dafür sprechende Beispiele.²¹¹

The Esagila temple was thus situated at the top of the “world mountain”, which was first created as the centre of the world, acting as the foundation of heaven and earth. Furthermore, this temple was to be built according to the plan of Marduk in vertical relation to the four spatial layers of divine residence: Anu in heaven, Enlil in Ešarra, Marduk in Esagila, and Ea/Enki in Apsû, as shown in the following diagram:

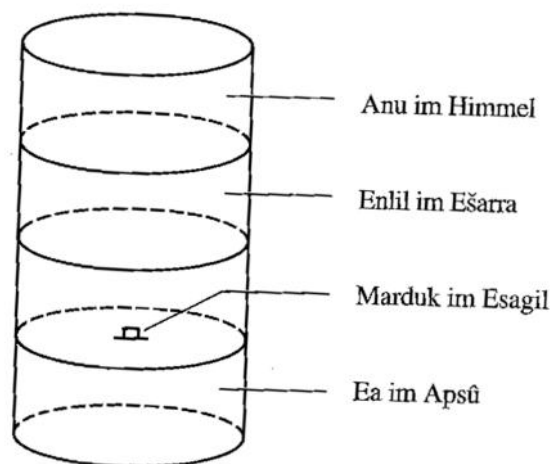


Figure 1: Janowski's Reconstruction According to *En ma eliš*²¹²

Ešarra is located between heaven and Esagila, while Apsû is located at the bottom, the

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 233–236. For more examples, see Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 9–97; John M. Lundquist, “The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East,” in *The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives*, ed. Truman G. Madsen (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center Brigham Young University, 1984), 54–76; Eric Burrows, “Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion,” in *The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Religion Between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed. S.H. Hooke (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935), 43–70; Eliade, *Patterns*, 367–385.

²¹⁰ Janowski, “Der Himmel auf Erden,” 240–242.

²¹¹ Ibid., 238.

²¹² Taken from Ibid., 241.

underworld. Esagila was thus regarded as the connective point in the vertical axis at the centre of Babylon, linking the three other spatial domains. This *axis mundi* was symbolically visible to all people in Babylon through the gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki, designating the temple as the foundation of heaven and earth. With this vertical linkage, Esagila was further seen as the counterpart of Apsû and Ešarra, where the “template” was to be realised:

Daraus ergibt sich, da Esagil nicht nur als „Gegenstück des *apsû*“ errichtet wurde, sondern mit seiner Spitze auch in den unteren Himmel (=Ešarra) reichte, nach Standort und Ausma also kosmische Dimensionen besa – genauso wie der in seinem Heiligtum residierende Marduk.²¹³

We thus see how the traditional understanding of the ideology of the Esagila temple further elaborated the concept of the temple as realised template, not only as the focal point of the residences of Anu, Enlil and Ea but also as the replication of the underworld Apsû, constituting multiple layers of counterparts.

The concept of the temple as realised template can also be traced in the Old Babylonian description of the famous temple builder, Gudea of Lagash. The Nanshe Hymn depicts the importance of chanting holy hymns in the temple that was built by him at Ninâ (using Jacobsen’s translation, lines 37-46):

Gudea perfected for her all her precious sacred offices.
Her shepherd, envisioned in the holy heart,
Gudea, ruler of Lagash,
stationed among the *tigi* strings the princely,
sweet sounding, tambourines,
stationed with them holy harps,
and to the holy chants and the antiphons he had performed for her
lyres were giving praise unto the house,
whilst out from amid them a chief musician
was sounding for her the shofar horn.

²¹³ Ibid., 242.

Since she had deemed fit to allot to the house sacred rites from Apsû,
he sang at its sacred princely rites the latter's holy chants
in Siratr's courtyard.²¹⁴

This hymn expresses a profound concern for the holiness of musical instruments and singing, and tells how Gudea built the new temple Siratr for Nanshe in Ninâ. He then inaugurated the “perfect” cult for her by establishing a much-elaborated musical worship with different sorts of holy chants and instruments. The hymn speaks of Apsû, which was the domain of Enki, underlying the earth. The new cult of Nanshe was thus comparable to the famous sacred cult of Enki in the temple Eridu, such that Nanshe deserved a full provision of holy chants. Therefore, a full and perfect establishment of a musical cult was necessary to promote a deity and the legitimacy of his or her cult.

In the famous Gudea Cylinder A, it was predicted that Gudea would receive a design (or template) for building the temple of Nin irsu (using Jacobsen's translation, Section vii, lines 4-8):

... the heart of the lord, unfathomable as inmost heaven,
of Nin irsu, son of Enlil, will become appeased for you;
he will reveal to you the design of his house,
and the warrior will hail for you his offices, all great.²¹⁵

Gudea's positive response to this prophecy invoked a response from Nin irsu (using Jacobsen's translation, Section ix, lines 9-10):

Gudea – for building my house let me give you the signposts
and let me tell you the pure stars above,
(the heralds) of my appointed tasks.²¹⁶

Gudea realised the design into his temple building for Nin irsu in a later section of this cylinder. It indicated that the blueprint of a heavenly temple was to be realised on

²¹⁴ Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once: Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 129.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 396.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 399.

earth, so that the earthly sanctuary acted as the counterpart of the heavenly one.

Moreover, in a hymn dedicated to Inanna as warrior, holy musical instruments helped Inanna to fight her heavenly battle (using Jacobsen's translation, lines 36-44):

Algar-instruments, silver inwrought, they are beating for her,
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
Holy tambourines and holy kettledrums they are beating for her
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
Holy harps and holy kettledrums they are smiting for her,
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
The oldest child of the Moon, Inanna, I will hail!²¹⁷

Here, military language in association with holy musical instruments (e.g. Algar-instruments) forms the vanguard of Inanna. A profound concern for holiness ensured a victory as the musical instruments entered into the realm of holy Inanna and became her possession. Again, the musical contribution would have helped a deity to fight the battle. This military language associated with the musical dimension would have added a higher authenticity to a temple site in respect to stabilising the world and political powers.

How can we understand “holy” as describing the divine status of musical instruments in the temple as realised template? As mentioned before, each string of a musical instrument corresponded to a particular “god-number” and appears to have denoted the sound of particular gods.²¹⁸ When musicians played musical instruments, they actually imitated the divine sound in melodies bearing the holy chants that were themselves divinely inspired. They believed that this created a connection between the realm of gods and the mundane, so that divine blessings could be channelled through

²¹⁷ Ibid., 115.

²¹⁸ Dumbrill, *Archaeomusicology*, 35, 61–62, 92.

from one to the other.

In his helpful study of the “deification” of cultic objects, Selz examines various cultic statues and objects, especially musical instruments, to see how the Neo-Sumerians perceived the deification of these objects.²¹⁹ He concludes that Neo-Sumerians needed to ensure the divinity of divine statues and other cultic objects by name-giving, washing, induction, and offering. The ceremony of “mouth-washing” a divine statue prevailed over time²²⁰ and was frequently reflected in the ritual of *kalû*. If washing was a general prerequisite for the deification of a divine statue, then mouth-washing can be described as fundamental to ensuring its holiness. This ritual purity had nothing to do with moral cleanliness but represented a foundation for the animation of a statue. Similarly, the rule could also be applied to musical instruments, as Selz has shown. Their “deification” ensured that they were appropriate for liturgical use.²²¹ The concepts of purity and holiness were also linked to the object’s role in bringing coherence between heaven and earth.

Wilson offers a systematic treatment of the Sumerian word *ku₃*, “holy”, and the Akkadian *ellu*, “pure” and argues that the former represents the realm of gods,²²² while the latter represents a realm free of physical impurities and demonic influence.²²³ He also compares *ku₃* with the Hebrew word *qados* and concludes that their meaning overlaps insofar as they both denote the realm of divinity. Their meanings differ in their verbal form: *ku₃* does not convey any dynamic qualities, while

²¹⁹ Gebhard J. Selz, “The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp’ Towards an Understanding of the Problems of Deification in Third Millennium Mesopotamia,” in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, ed. I.L. Finkel and M.J. Geller (Groningen: Styx, 1997), 167–209.

²²⁰ Erica Reiner and Miguel Civil, “Another Volume of Sultantape Tablets,” *JNES* 26 (1967): 211. For the rite of “mouth-washing” with the purification of kettle-drums, see *ANET*, 335–336.

²²¹ Selz, “Holy Drum,” 184.

²²² E. Jan Wilson, *“Holiness” and “Purity” in Mesopotamia* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon&Bercker, 1994), 17.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 67, 81.

does.²²⁴ He contends that purity (*ellu*) was the foundational prerequisite for holiness in ancient Mesopotamia. Being pure did not mean that a person or an object was in the realm of divinity but simply that it was free from impurities and demonic influence, though there may be a considerable overlap of meaning between purity and holiness.²²⁵ Ritual purity, however, had to be achieved as the prerequisite for the cultic “deification” of a person or an object for the realm of gods. As I shall show in Chapter Seven, Israel’s worship upholds a similar concept of purity.

2.5. Conclusion

I have explored the threefold role – educational, scribal, and liturgical – of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in the first millennium, using *kalû*-priests as an instructive example of the scholar-singers. From this brief survey, we know that the Neo-Babylonian *kalû*-priests were highly respected persons in the royal courts and temples, exercising multi-functional roles in perpetuating lament-traditions and in conducting liturgical performances, in order to appease the hearts of angry gods and to foster stability and well-being.

First, we have discovered that the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical school probably took the form of a two-staged curriculum in which students learned basic lexical texts, vocabularies, traditional Babylonian myths and epics, and the writing of administrative letters. Music was probably an integral part of the scribal curriculums, and musical theory and rhythmic conventions became prerequisites for the composition of hymns and epics. After completing this basic curriculum, these scholar-singers sought employment in various sectors such as the profession of *kalûtu*. In the specialised training of *kalûtu*, young *kalû*-priests acted as apprentices (or sons),

²²⁴ Ibid., 89.

²²⁵ Ibid., 80–83.

undertaking on-the-job training in order to work in the profession of their senior “fathers”. Later on, these young *kalû*-priests then took over the teaching responsibilities and trained younger apprentices. We know via sources from different periods that this father-son apprenticeship persisted from the Neo-Assyrian period to Seleucid times.

Second, *kalû*-priests and scholar-singers in general were responsible for transmitting ancient traditions in an oral-written interface. Many epics and hymns were composed to be sung in cultic contexts or in scribal schools. The transmission and recontextualisation of *balag-eršemma* through *kalû*-priests gives an instructive example of how this particular kind of scholar-singer reworked and recontextualised their lament-traditions to make them suitable for routine cultic performances in different liturgical settings. This testifies to the reusability of the texts down the ages. Occasionally, these traditions were considered holy insofar as they were divinely inspired. Scholar-singers became the perpetuators of traditions.

Third, *kalû*-priests were also involved in cultic singing in their temples in order to appease the hearts of the gods and to promote the well-being and security of their kings, peoples and cities, and the purity and holiness of their temples, especially in the *Sitz im Leben* of the demolition and restoration of temples. They recited holy chants and played holy musical instruments, and also helped to maintain ritual purity as a foundation for ensuring the holiness of the temple.

Fourth, *En ma eliš*, which featured the basic training curriculum of most Neo-Babylonian scholar-singers, constituted the traditional Babylonian temple ideology. It conveyed the fundamental concept of the temple as realised template, rooted in wider Mesopotamian culture and serving the social, political, and ideological agenda of the rulers and priests of different temple sites.

In order to enable well-being, there was profound dynamic between the three

aspects of scholar-singers – educational, scribal, and liturgical. We can also see *kalû*-priests as mediating between the realms of heaven and earth by imitating gods to pursue higher humanity, by transmitting divine inspirations (i.e. prophecy), and by maintaining holiness and purity. Therefore, Ziegler’s statement best concludes this chapter:

Music was undoubtedly highly esteemed in ancient Mesopotamia ... Music was the preferred mode of communications with the gods and the favoured vehicle for the transmission of myths and epics: most of the compositions which we today tend to classify as literary texts were in fact meant to be sung. Music was valued by all levels of society and accompanied various aspects of the human existence. Highly specialized expert musicians were counted among the scholars [i.e. scholar-singers]. They were highly regarded members of society with privileged access to the royal courts and temples which tended to provide them with their livelihood.²²⁶

The evidence in this chapter has been presented in a very deliberate manner, because I do not want to impose an overarching framework on it but to let it speak for itself. I have employed the temple as realised template as a “framework”, but this conceptualisation does not mean that the ideas surrounding this concept remained unchanged. On the contrary, I believe that related ideas were given different emphases in different cultic settings serving different ideological and political purposes. This shows how the cluster of ideas was fluidly contextualised in different cultic settings.

Another “framework” that I have employed is that of the threefold aspect of scholar-singers. It must be noted that I do not develop this threefold aspect as a “model” of scholar-singers, but use it as a general description of their service for easier presentation. The boundaries among the functional entities inside the triangle, educational-scribal-liturgical, were permeable, and we cannot understand one functional role without the others. I intend that the presentation of this functional triangle should effectively convey the multi-functional nature of the elite professional

²²⁶ Nele Ziegler, “Music, the Work of Professionals,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 288.

Mesopotamian scholar-singers (and *kalû*-priests) and of Levitical singers in Part II.

Furthermore, I have deliberately departed from a compressed presentation of the first millennium Mesopotamian scholar-singers. I have made a deliberate effort to note the dating of each piece of evidence in order to allow an appreciation of the full dimensions (diachronic and synchronic) of scholar-singers in the Neo-Babylonian period. There are many examples of such small differences in the first millennium: (1) the Neo-Assyrian scribal school conducted examinations while the Neo-Babylonian did not; (2) a tendency towards the standardisation of traditions emerged together with the concept of “libraries” in the later periods; (3) the opportunity of scholar-singers in the Neo-Assyrian period to choose their own career paths (i.e. scribes, chanters, exorcists, haruspices, and physicians) in the second stage of learning, while those in the Neo-Babylonian period sought specialisation after the two-staged basic curriculum; (4) the older Sumerian city-laments show references to specific cities, while the younger *balag-eršemma* lacks the city references and thus exhibits the reusability of lament-traditions.

These differences, however, do not detract from the fact that music and scholar-singers played an indispensable part in articulating different ideas in different settings in different periods. For example, the propaganda pieces from the scribal schools in Nippur (in Old Babylonian and from the first millennium BCE) show that the interpreting of songs remained one crucial element in scribal education over 1,500 years. The *kalû*-priests behaved as the main cultic personnel in transmitting lament-songs and *balag-eršemma* for 1,500 years, in which the musical approach can be found in their cults and in their transmission of laments. I believe that this breadth of similarities and differences across centuries and locations can be used to establish a platform for understanding Jewish-Babylonian engagement during the Babylonian exile.

Any specialist in the study of the Babylonian exile would agree that the Jews offered a strong theological reaction to the exile. Scholars have generally accepted that the ideas of heaven-and-earth, the God-king figure, the heavenly temple and temple, and YHWH's glory and presence, holiness, and purity (e.g. in Ezekiel, Isaiah, Psalms, and Lamentations) probably represent theological reflections on the experience of the exile. As we have seen, these ideas have strong Mesopotamian roots. Although they were widely shared in Israelite pre-exilic traditions, the adaptation of these ideas in exilic and post-exilic traditions suggests that the experience of the exile led to a strong reflection and reworking of the pre-exilic Israelite traditions, and this reaffirmed some literary traditions. It will therefore be important to examine just exactly how this exilic reaction materialised, and I suggest that the key person in respect to this is King Jehoiachin of Judah, to whom I now turn.

3. King Jehoiachin of Judah and the Influence of Mesopotamia on the Jewish Exile Community

The previous chapter established the educational, scribal, and liturgical aspects of Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. This chapter follows on from this basis and argues that the influence of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context increased when Jewish deportees engaged in intensive social interaction in Babylon. This interaction is regarded as a social and ideological influence to the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on and reinterpretation of Israelite traditions. We should not expect this influence to manifest as direct literary borrowing.

It must be noted that I do not intend to reconstruct the history of the exile, in the modern sense, but to retell the history from the ideological perspective of the Jewish exile community and the historical-comparative perspective of the Babylonian scribal-musical culture. I recognise that there are historical data embedded within the biblical texts that are difficult to single out, and I do not attempt this. I also use archaeological and sociological analyses to take into consideration a cluster of parameters that are ideological in nature and subject to interpretation.²²⁷

We can access the past only from the viewpoints of ancient writers. We cannot be neutral observers, stand outside the historical continuum, or judge which sets of data are more historical. Any interpretation of historical facts depends on our own social situation and interest. Such “facts”, whether they are reflected in material remains or literature, do not prove historicity. Therefore, I aim to place the biblical texts and the archaeological-sociological findings in the wider circumstantial context of Babylonian society, in order to explore the probable interaction between Jews and Babylonians that led to some probable reactions by Jews.

²²⁷ For a good survey, see Carter, *Yehud*, 31–74.

There has been a debate on whether we should abandon using the term “exile” to describe the events that happened in 597-538 BCE. It has been argued that the word “exile” is heavily loaded with theological (or metaphorical) overtones and is not neutral enough to designate a historical period.²²⁸ But these dichotomies between history and theology, reality and metaphor, fact and myth, offer no help in understanding what happened in this period. The use of metaphor is systematically inescapable in human communication and the perception of any historical event.²²⁹ It is unwise to abandon the term “exile” simply because it involves metaphorical significance. “Exile” is an experience, a theological claim, and a historical event. It should not be marginalised, because it reflects the theological interpretation of this event according to Judah’s people, those who had first-hand emotions and viewpoints.

I explore the topic in two steps. First, I argue that the Babylonian exile was the crucial period in which Jewish officials engaged with the culture of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers. Jehoiachin, the king of Judah deported together with his royal officials in 597 BCE, is a key person in understanding of how such contact grew strong.²³⁰ Second, I argue from the ideological perspectives of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah that these texts establish three themes of continuity in their portrayal of the exile and return. The concern for continuity (a hallmark of authenticity) betrays the socio-ideological concerns of the citizen-temple community²³¹ during the

²²⁸ For a series on the debate, see Lester L. Grabbe, ed., *Leading Captivity Captive: “The Exile” as History and Ideology*, JSOTSS 278 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1998). See also Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, eds., *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Contexts*, BZAW 404 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010).

²²⁹ See footnote 391.

²³⁰ This proposal resembles William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 149–164, but from a different angle.

²³¹ Weinberg defines “the citizen-temple community” (*der Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde*) as “a unified organization of community members and the priesthood of the temple. This citizen-temple community gave its members an organizational unity and collective self-government, and provided for internal political, social and economic welfare”: Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 26. For evaluations of Weinberg’s model, see Grabbe, *Yehud*, 143–145; Carter, *Yehud*, 294–307; Joseph Blenkinsopp, “Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah,” in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117

restoration period. This particular social milieu would explain the motivation for the Jewish people to incorporate insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singers into their characterisation of Levites in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah: in order to promote the authenticity and primacy of the Jerusalem temple cult.

3.1. Jehoiachin and the Influence of Mesopotamia

In this section, I examine epigraphic discoveries such as the seal impression of Jehoiachin, the Weidner tablet, and the TAYN corpus.²³² Evidence from the Weidner and the TAYN corpus represents two different Jewish classes in Babylonia. The former shows the life of Judah's royal family and elite classes, while the latter shows the daily life of lower classes. As I shall show, the Babylonian assimilation penetrated both upper and lower classes, but a very small number of the upper class received special treatment from the Babylonian ruling class and thus experienced a different kind of influence. This small number of professionals exercised a greater impact upon exilic textuality. However, this does not mean that the fate of the lower classes was isolated from that of the upper classes. Rather, their fortune depended upon the well-being of their leaders (e.g. Esth 10:3). Exploring the social situation of the lower classes can thus reflect the freedom and power of their leaders.

(Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 26–53; Peter Ross Bedford, "On Models and Texts: A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 155–159; Richard A. Horsley, "Empire, Temple and Community - But No Bourgeoisie! A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 164–165 n2, 168–172; H.G.M. Williamson, "Exile and After: Historical Study," in *Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 248–252. This model has gained some supporters. Others have criticised numerous issues such as population size, economy, and land holdings. Scholars have tended to amend and nuance the model, and they have reached no consensus in many details. Although I use the term "the citizen-temple community" to designate the temple community in Yehud, it is not necessary to look at the details of Weinberg's model here, because they do not affect the main line of argument. My particular concerns are Weinberg's articulation of "pre-Hellenism" and the creation of the identity of the community.

²³² TAYN means "Texts from āl-Yāhūdu and Našar": Laurie E. Pearce, "New Evidence for Judeans in Babylonia," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 401 n5.

According to Kings, Jehoiachin was the penultimate king of Judah (2Kgs 24:8-17). Before the first capture of Jerusalem, Jehoiakim died and left his son, Jehoiachin, to face the siege from Babylonian troops. This inexperienced king reigned only three months in Jerusalem, and he surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon together with “his mother, his servants, his captains, and his court officials” (2Kgs 24:12). Nebuchadnezzar appointed Zedekiah, Jehoiachin’s uncle, as king in Jerusalem. But only Jehoiachin was considered the true, rightful king of Judah (e.g. Jer 28-29),²³³ and only he had his palace scribes and officials with him in Babylon. He was probably the leader of Jewish communities in Babylon as he seems to have been well-treated.²³⁴ This can be verified by epigraphic discoveries, as described in the following observations.

In their archaeological work at the sites of Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh in Israel, Albright and Grant discovered three stamped jar-handles bearing a seal with the words: “Eliakim steward of Joiachin (i.e. Jehoiachin).”²³⁵ These seals were found at the stratum dated about the reign of Josiah. Closer examinations lead Albright to assign these seals to the reign of Zedekiah (though not without challenge²³⁶), who might not have wanted to interfere with Jehoiachin’s personal property after his exile in 597 BCE.²³⁷

These seals may suggest three things if Albright’s interpretation is correct: (1)

²³³ Bustenay Oded, “Judah and the Exile,” in *Israelite and Judaeen History*, ed. J. Maxwell Miller and John Haralson Hayes (London: SCM, 1977), 471; David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible : A New Reconstruction* (New York: OUP, 2011), 239.

²³⁴ John M. Berridge, “Jehoiachin,” in *ABD*, III:662-663; Israel Eph’al, “On the Political and Social Organization of the Jews in Babylonian Exile,” in *XXI. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vom 24. Bis 29. März 1980 in Berlin: Vorträge*, ed. Fritz Steppat, ZDMG 5 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983), 111; Bustenay Oded, “Observations on the Israelite/Judaen Exiles in Mesopotamia During the Eighth-Sixth Centuries BCE,” in *Immigration and Emigration Within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński*, ed. Edward Lipiński, Karel van Lerberghe, and Antoon Schoors (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1995), 210.

²³⁵ For a discussion of the translation, see William Foxwell Albright, “The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Preexilic History of Judah, with Some Observations on Ezekiel,” *JBL* 51 (1932): 79–84.

²³⁶ David Ussishkin, “Royal Judean Storage Jars and Private Seal Impressions,” *BASOR* 223 (1976): 11.

²³⁷ Albright, “Seal,” 102. Cf. D.J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon* (Oxford: OUP, 1985), 82.

Jehoiachin still owned his personal property in Palestine even though he was deported to Babylon, (2) his deportation did not affect the ownership of his property, and (3) he had stewards to take care of his property in Israel. Why do these seals still claim Jehoiachin's ownership, even though he was physically absent? One possible reason is that people in Palestine still expected their exiled king to return shortly (Jer 28:3-4). Although Hananiah's prophecy on Jehoiachin's return was condemned as a false prophecy (Jer 28:12-17), Jeremiah still showed his allegiance to Jehoiachin and his officials in Babylon (Jer 29:1-14). Thus Jehoiachin was still considered as the true king even though he had been physically absent.

Most important to my argument is an Akkadian cuneiform tablet called the Weidner tablet, which was found in an archive of 290 clay tablets excavated near the Ishtar Gate of Babylon.²³⁸ References to "Jehoiachin, king of Judah" and his sons, mentioned as "princes of Judah", were recorded three times, and there is one reference to eight individuals referred to as "men of Judah". Here is my transcription and translation:²³⁹

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 0.5 (PI) | <i>ana [j]a'uk n šarri ša j udu</i> |
| 2.5 sila | <i>ana 5 mâr šarri ša j udu [...]</i> |
| 4 sila | <i>ana 8 j ud ja 0.5 [sila]</i> |
| 0.5 (PI) | for [J]a'uk nu, the king of Judah |
| 2.5 sila | for five princes of Judah [...]. |
| 4 sila | for eight people of Judah, 0.5 [sila]. |

This tablet is tantalisingly allusive and can only provide limited information on the

²³⁸ Ernst F. Weidner, "Jochin, König Von Juda, in Babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," in *Mélanges Syriens Offerts À Monsieur René Dussaud: Secrétaire Perpétuel De l'Académie Des Inscriptions Et Belles-Lettres, Par Ses Amis Et Ses Élèves*, ed. René Dussaud, vol. 2, 2 vols., BAH 30 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1939), 923–935; William Foxwell Albright, "King Jehoiachin in Exile," *BA* 5 (1942): 49–55.

²³⁹ For the cuneiform text, see Weidner, "Jochin," 925. Weidner's transliteration is out-dated. I have re-transcribed it using the convention from Richard I. Caplice, *Introduction to Akkadian* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2002), 4–9.

actual life of the exiled people in Babylon. We must examine several biblical texts and additional epigraphic discoveries in order to reconstruct the overall picture.

3.1.1. The Babylonian Royal Court

Why did Jehoiachin and his royal court receive rations from the Babylonians? Why were they well-treated? The Babylonians probably attempted to include the royal and elite classes of their foreign captives in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, in order to display the prestige and power of Nebuchadnezzar. In this section, I shall draw on sources such as a prism called “The Court of Nebuchadnezzar”²⁴⁰, some royal inscriptions, and the Weidner tablet, focusing on an articulation of a high ranking official in the Neo-Babylonian royal court called “chief singer” *rab zamm r*. These sources are particularly important because they are dated in the Neo-Babylonian period and were mostly unearthed in Babylon, showing invaluable information about the life in the Babylonian royal court.

The prism entitled “The Court of Nebuchadnezzar” writes (III:33-IV:19):

I order the (following) court officials in exercise of (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite: As *mašennu*-officials Nabuzeriddinam, the chief cook, Nabuzeribni, the chief armorer (Lord High Steward), [E]rib[...] in charge of the palace officials, Sinshar [ilani(?)], the major-domo, Atkal-ana-Mar-Esagila ... [the ...] (some names broken), Inaqibit-Bel [the ...], Bel-erish, the chief [...], Ardia, the *mašennu* of the “House-of-the-Palace-Women,” Beluballit, the secretary of the “House-of-the-Palace-Women,” Silla, the chief master-of-ceremonies, Nabuahusur, the chief of the engineers, Mushallim-Marduk, Nabu-ushibshi (and) Eribshu, the overseers (lit.: heads) of the slave-girls, Nabubelusur, overseer of the slave-girls, Nabuzeribni, the cupbearer, Nergalresua, the chief of the singers, Ardi-Nabu, the *sipiru* –official of the crown prince, Eaidanni, the chief of the cattle, Rimutu, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarshariusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ This document comes from a prism in Constantinople (No. 7834) and was unearthed from Babylon, from the western part of the city castle. For transliteration, see Eckhard Unger, *Babylon; die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier*, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1931), 282–294. For an English translation of III:33-V:29, see *ANET* 307-308.

²⁴¹ *ANET* 307-308.

In this prism, we see royal court officials such as a chief cook, an armourer, a secretary, heads of provinces, an overseer, and a cupbearer. Two high-ranking positions should draw our attention: (1) “Beluballit, the secretary of the ‘House-of-the-Palace-Women’” (*m Bêl-û-ba-al-li-it* ^{am lu}*dup-šar ša Bît šigrêti ekalli*) (IV:6-7) and (2) “Nergalresua, the chief of the singers” (*m* ^{ilu}*Nergal(UGUR)-ri-zu-ú-a* ^{am lu}*rab za-am-ma-ri*) (IV:14).²⁴² The transcription of ^{am lu}*dup-šar* is *upšar*, “scholar/scribe” and that of ^{am lu}*rab za-am-ma-ri* is *rab zamm r*, “chief singers”. This shows that the official titles of *upšar* and *rab zamm r* were for high-ranking persons in the royal court. We have already learned a lot about the multi-functional role of *upšar* in Chapter Two (esp. Section 2.1). But how can we understand *rab zamm r*?

Zamm r is probably a general term that describes all sorts of singers.²⁴³ The *rab zamm r* is probably therefore a high-ranking person who was responsible for overseeing and organising the activities of all singers. Furthermore, several *kalû* ritual texts indicate that *zam ru* was a usual practice of *kalû*-priests, for example,

[A *kalû*-priest] shall sing (*tazammur*) the lamentation (entitled) ‘*Utudim eta*’ and the lamentation (entitled) ‘*U’uaba mu ul*’.²⁴⁴

one of the *kalû*-singers stands up and sings (*i-za-mu-ur*) an ersemma-song to Enlil to the accompaniment of the *al allatu*-drum.²⁴⁵

the *kalû*-singers sing (*i-za-am-mu-ru-ma*) the song.²⁴⁶

the *kalû*-singers sing (*i-z[a-a]m-mu-r[u]*) the (specific song) at the monthly festival.²⁴⁷

We thus see that *zam ru* was a usual activity of *kalû*-priests when they sang *balag-eršemma* and other lamentation songs. This clearly suggests that the *kalû*-priest

²⁴² The transliteration comes from Unger, *Babylon*, 285.

²⁴³ In CAD, *rab zammārī* appears in the entry “*zamāru A*”, showing the general meaning of “to sing” or “to have singers (and other musicians) perform”: “*zamāru A*”, CAD, XXI:36.

²⁴⁴ This appears in two lines of the *kalû*-ritual for the repair of a temple: Text A, lines 5-6, ANET, 339. For transcription, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 34.

²⁴⁵ This appears in one line of the *kalû*-ritual: “*zamāru A*”, CAD, XXI:37.

²⁴⁶ This appears in one line of the *kalû*-ritual: Ibid.

²⁴⁷ This appears in one line of the *kalû*-ritual: Ibid.

was one of the *zamm r*, as *CAD* suggests:

Singing [i.e. *zam ru*], especially for ritual or ceremonial purposes, was always done to the accompaniment of musical instruments, played either by the singer himself or by an accompanist. The instruments specifically mentioned are the *al allatu* and *alû* drums, in connection with certain lamentations, and the *balaggu* and *sammû* harps.²⁴⁸

The *al allatu*-drums and *balaggu*-harps were closely associated with the singing (*zam ru*) of *eršemma* and *balag* respectively, and therefore the chanting of *balag-eršemma* was regarded as an activity of *zam ru*. This supports the view that the *kalû*-priest was one of the *zamm r*, who often played these instruments specifically designed for laments. And now we see that the royal court of Nebuchadnezzar consisted of *rab zamm r*, an official overseer of all singers, including *kalû*-priests. Given that the *kalû*-priest was a high-ranking person in the first millennium, we can therefore conclude that the royal court included a substantial number of *kalû*-priests, whose overseer was *rab zamm r*.

As I have shown in Chapter Two, the Neo-Babylonian *kalû*-priests were heavily involved in transmitting and composing *balag-eršemma* on the one hand, and in conducting routine liturgical performance on the other, in order to appease the hearts of the gods in the context of temple demolition and reconstruction. They were experts in traditional Babylonian myths, epics and lores, such as *En ma eliš*, and in the Babylonian temple ideology. This scribal-musical professional knowledge constituted a scholastic social environment in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, such that the Babylonian scribal-musical culture (an institutional and ideological environment) dominated social and conceptual interactions.

Furthermore, many royal inscriptions indicate that Nebuchadnezzar (and Nabonidus²⁴⁹) frequently performed the demolition and reconstruction of various

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 38.

²⁴⁹ For the royal inscriptions of Nabonidus and how they indicate the demolition and reconstruction of

temples, for instance:

I [i.e. Nebuchadnezzar] packed down clean earth on its old foundation and laid its brickwork.²⁵⁰

I [i.e. Nebuchadnezzar] surrounded it with a thick revetment of bitumen and baked bricks; I filled its interior with clean earth.²⁵¹

These are only the few examples among many similar occasions,²⁵² indicating that the temple demolition and reconstruction occupied one central concern of Nebuchadnezzar (and of Nabonidus) in his royal court. Since Babylonians traditionally saw the chanting of *balag-eršemma* indispensable during various temple-rebuilding ceremonies, this would have suggested that the ideology and practices of *kalû*-priests constituted one main social condition of the royal court.

The list of the court officials in the prism continues and records (V:23-29),

the king of Tyre, the king of Gaza, the king of Sidon, the king of Arvad, the king of Ashdod, the king of Mir [...], the king of ...²⁵³

This is clearly evident that many foreign kings could be involved in the royal court. Unfortunately, the prism is broken at this point and cannot show further information about the involvement of other foreign kings in the royal court. Although the king of Judah is not mentioned in this broken prism, we see that a portion of the Weidner tablet does mention the king of Judah together with some foreign kings:

(text Babylon 28122, obverse 29-33)

... t[o?] *Ia-'-û-kin*, king ...

to the *qîp tu*-house of ...

... for Shalamiamu, the ...

... for 126 men from Tyre ...

... for Zabiria, the Ly[dian] ...

temples during the time of Nabonidus, see Ellis, *Foundation*, 181–183.

²⁵⁰ VAB, 4, 96 ii 4-6. Extracted from Ibid., 180.

²⁵¹ VAB, 4, 84, No. 6, i 15-ii 4. Extracted from Ibid.

²⁵² For more examples, see Ibid., 180–181.

²⁵³ ANET, 308. For transcription, see Unger, *Babylon*, 286.

(text Babylon 28178, obverse ii 38-40)

10 (*sila* of oil) to ... [*Ia*]-'-*kin*, king of *Ia*[...]

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* (oil) to [...so]ns of the king of Judah (*Ia-a- u-du*)

4 *sila* to 8 men from Judah (^{amel}*Ia-a- u-da-a-a*) ...

(text Babylon 28186), reverse ii 13-18)

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* (oil) for 3 carpenters from Arvad, $\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* each

11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* for 8 ditto from Byblos, 1 *sila* each ...

3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* for 7 ditto, Greeks, $\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* each

$\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* to *Nabû-ê ir* the carpenter

10 (*sila*) to *Ia-ku-û-ki-nu*, the son of the king of *Ia-ku-du* (i.e. Judah)

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *sila* for the 5 sons of the king of Judah (*Ia-ku-du*) through Qana'a [...]²⁵⁴

Since the Weidner tablet shows the distribution of oil for the survival of people who came from the upper stratum of conquered nations and were dependent upon the royal household, and since the list reflected in the tablet generally matches the list of foreign kings in the prism (e.g. Tyre and Arvad), the foreign people (including Jehoiachin) reflected in the Weidner tablet would have experienced the same royal social setting as those kings described in the prism. It therefore seems entirely likely that the king of Judah would have been involved in the royal court as well. This can be verified by the biblical description of the life of Jehoiachin in 2Kgs 25:27-30, which reports that

King Evil-merodach of Babylon ... released King Jehoiachin of Judah from prison; he ... gave him a seat above the other seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon ... Every day of his [i.e. Jehoiachin] life he dined regularly in the king's presence. For his allowance, a regular allowance was given him by the king, a portion every day, as long as he lived. (2Kgs 25:27-30, NRSV)

The phrases “regular allowance”, “daily portion”, and “seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon” exactly match what has been recorded in the prism and the Weidner tablet. It is thus historically probable that Jehoiachin participated in the social setting of the royal court during the exile.

Jehoiachin (Ja'u-k nu) was given the title “the king of Judah” (*šarri ša j udu*) in

²⁵⁴ ANET, 308.

the Weidner tablet, and was also called “king” in sources such as 2Kgs 25:27-30. Such a royal figure would necessarily require a court that included learned people, however small it may have been. The fact that he was YHWH’s anointed made him a sacred figure, who could not have been regarded as an “ordinary” person. Certain rituals and formal customs surrounding him required the presence of educated professionals to uphold his dignity and status, especially because he was employed by Nebuchadnezzar as a trophy to demonstrate the power and prestige of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Therefore, Jehoiachin’s scribes and officials are likely to have been involved in the Babylonian royal court.

The Weidner tablet shows that Jehoiachin and eight other people received allowances. The tablet does not mention the social status of these eight people, but we can reasonably assume that they were among the royal officials taken into captivity together with Jehoiachin (2Kgs 24:15-16).²⁵⁵ These elite persons were potentially the best equipped to read and write, or even to chant texts and traditions. From this we can deduce that these exiled Judaeans were most likely involved in the social life of the Babylonian royal court, in which the scribal-musical culture of Mesopotamian scholar-singers, such as *upšar* and *kalû*-priests, dominated social interaction. Therefore there may well have been real historical contact in Babylonia between *kalû*-priests and exiled Judaeans. As shall be shown in Section 3.1.2, this can be verified by an influence of Babylonian laments on biblical lamentation songs as well.

Although Jehoiachin and his officials were probably involved in the social conditions of the Babylonian royal court, we still cannot be sure how Mesopotamian literature affected Jewish textuality. No matter how assimilated they were or how frequently the social interaction may have occurred, we cannot determine which

²⁵⁵ The Babylonians intended to “exterminate or weaken the elite of the conquered land”: Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 37.

specific texts were directly known to Jewish scholars.

Frahm gives a study of the influence of *En ma eliš* on Genesis as if both texts are related from a literary point of view.²⁵⁶ He writes, “[I]t is almost certain that the deportees from Judah who were sent to Babylon in 597 and 586 BCE became in some form acquainted with it.”²⁵⁷ He is referring to Dan 1:3-5 and the Weidner tablet, thinking that Jehoiachin and his officials may have learnt *En ma eliš* in the Sumero-Akkadian scribal education. But when we look at the synoptic tables (*En ma eliš* I 1-5//Gen 1:1-2 and *En ma eliš* VI 59-73//Gen 11:1-9) provided by Frahm,²⁵⁸ we cannot find a direct borrowing of textual trunks or any precise correlation but simply some shared allusive ideas of a general and imprecise nature. His claim, “they are counter-texts”,²⁵⁹ is unverifiable. The textual evidence thus does not support the case for direct literary contact between the two cultures, and this suggests that Jehoiachin and his officials were unlikely to have received scribal education in Babylonia.²⁶⁰

Perhaps it would be unwise to lay great stress on the affinities between *En ma eliš* and Genesis at the level of literary dependence, but a relationship of some kind seems clear.²⁶¹ This relationship probably came not from direct copying but from shared ideas. The Jewish engagement with the Babylonian royal court probably reaffirmed these commonly shared ideas (especially the ideas implied by the temple as realised template²⁶²).

²⁵⁶ Frahm, *Babylonian*, 364–368.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 365.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 365–366. See appendix E.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 366. For me, “counter-texts” should be something like Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

²⁶⁰ Babylonian scribal education was esoteric in nature. Only a small number of highly regarded Babylonian elites could be involved in cuneiform learning: Beaulieu, “Late Babylonian,” 476, 481.

²⁶¹ See K.L. Sparks, “Enūma Eliš and Priestly Mimesis: Elite Emulation in Nascent Judaism,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 625–648; R. Hendel, “Genesis 1-11 and its Mesopotamian Problem,” in *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, ed. Erich S Gruen (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2005), 23–26. See also a series of essays: Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, eds., *Abschied vom Jahwisten: die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, BZAW 315 (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 2002).

²⁶² In Frahm’s synoptic tables (appendix E), the shared ideas (highlighted by Frahm) are “heavens”,

For Jewish thinkers, the social conditions of the Babylonian royal court threatened their self-identity, such that the court might not necessarily have produced pro-Babylonian minds, but rather strengthened the self-identity of Jews.²⁶³ With a need to build self-identity, Jews would be more inclined to borrow from Israelite traditions than from the Mesopotamian literature. Meanwhile, the social condition would also have produced cultural appreciation; Jewish thinkers would have obtained insights that they could apply to the articulation of their own identity from the “successful” Babylonian culture. The intra-Jewish borrowing and reinterpreting would thus have been influenced strongly by the royal scribal-musical culture, so that some intra-Jewish traditions (e.g. the temple as realised template and music) were reinforced in order to strengthen Jewish sense of identity in relation to YHWH’s faith in face of the challenges of Babylonians.

3.1.2. The Influence of the *kalû*-priests’ Lament-Tradition

Scholars have generally agreed that the theological reflections of the Babylonian exile match the central concerns of the Book of Lamentations and some lament-psalms.²⁶⁴ This would explain why the similarities between them in their motifs, imagery, and themes grew in the exilic and post-exilic traditions. For example, Emmendorffer explores one particular *balag*, UDAM KI AMUS (*u₄-dam ki àm-ús*),²⁶⁵ which contains a motif describing how the divine word (Enlil’s word) shakes heaven and earth (lines 1-2, 11-14, using Cohen’s translation):

“earth”, “sea”, “spirit”, “waters”, “a tower with its tops in the heaven”, and “Babel/Babylon”: Frahm, *Babylonian*, 365–366. These shared ideas match the ideas surrounding temple as realised template.

²⁶³ Cf. Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 105–108.

²⁶⁴ Except Bouzard, who thinks that “those psalms which apparently treat the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem are not specifically dependent on the events of 587 BCE”: Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 45.

²⁶⁵ The name means “It Touches the Earth Like a Strom”. This *balag* has been edited by Mark E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, Md.: Capital Decisions, 1988), 120–151.

It touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
 His word touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
 ...
 His word, which causes the heavens to rumble above!
 His word, which causes the earth to shake below!
 His word, (at) which the Anunna-gods stumble!
 His word has no diviner. It has no interpreter.²⁶⁶

The *balag* continues and describes the destructive character of the divine word upon the country and its inhabitants, using expressions such as “it destroys the land” (line 39), “his word drifts in the heavens” (line 45), and “his word walks on the land” (line 46).²⁶⁷ The wrath of Enlil upset the order of the world (i.e. heaven and earth), cities, temples, animals, and humans were destroyed (lines 79-100). This expresses the transcendence of Enlil, whose power comes down from heaven to earth with universal effect.²⁶⁸ Emmendorffer then compares this idea with the biblical laments, and discovers that most exilic and post-exilic Israelite lament-psalms include an adaptation of this heaven-to-earth concept. For instance,

How the Lord in his anger has humiliated daughter Zion! He has thrown down from heaven to earth the splendor of Israel. (Lam 2:1, NRSV)²⁶⁹
 because of Mount Zion, which lies desolate; jackals prowl over it. But you, O LORD, reign forever; your throne endures to all generations. (Lam 5:18-19, NRSV)²⁷⁰
 Let the heavens praise your wonders, O LORD, your faithfulness in the assembly of the holy ones. For who in the skies can be compared to the LORD? Who among the heavenly beings is

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 136.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 137.

²⁶⁸ These ideas generally match the concept of temple as realised template.

²⁶⁹ “Aus den himmlischen Gefilden, den eigentlichen Wohnort Jhwhs – der Tempel auf dem Zion (vgl. 1c) stellt die Verbindung zwischen Erde und Himmel her:” Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 48. “Im Gegenteil erweist sich nun der Kultort Jerusalems, Schnittstelle zwischen himmlischer und irdischer Wohnstatt Gottes”: Ibid., 51. Lam 2 thus shows a general similarity of the motif of the heaven-to-earth destruction of all temples, cities, and lands in the *balag*.

²⁷⁰ “Der himmlische Gottesthron bleibt bestehen, obgleich die irdische Wohnstatt Jhwhs zerstört ist ... auf die Unterscheidung zwischen irdischer und himmlischer Wohnstatt mit Nachdruck hingewiesen”: Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 73–74. The idea of the distinction between heavenly and earthly abodes generally matches the transcendence of Enlil in contrast to the destruction of earthly temples in the *balag*.

like the LORD, a God feared in the council of the holy ones, great and awesome above all that are around him? ... For you are the glory of their strength; by your favour our horn is exalted ... I will establish his line forever, and his throne as long as the heavens endure. (Ps 89:5-7, 16, 29, NRSV)²⁷¹

This probably suggests that Jewish theological reflections on the exile in the biblical lament-psalms were influenced by the Mesopotamian lament-tradition, in that this influence reaffirmed the ancient Jewish lament-tradition. Furthermore, the experience of the exile probably fostered a process of identity-making among the exile-community (because of the Babylonian assimilation), which tended to view its suffering as a collective experience. This Jewish reaction is reflected in their tendency towards nationalisation and collectivism (the notion of “we”) in the exilic and post-exilic Israelite lament-traditions, articulating the suffering people as a collective ego.²⁷² This collective tendency has been noted by other scholars also.²⁷³

Dobbs-Allsopp offers a thorough comparison of themes, motifs, and images in determining the shared lament genre. This genre contains thematic and structural features such as subject and mood, structure and poetic technique, divine abandonment, assignment of responsibility, the divine agent of destruction, destruction itself, the weeping goddess, lamentation, and restoration of the city and the return of the gods.²⁷⁴ Scholars have generally supported these thematic and structural similarities between the two groups of lament-traditions.²⁷⁵ Other similarities include

²⁷¹ “Es geht um die alles entscheidende Bewegung von oben nach unten, vom Himmel auf die Erde, um die Durchdringung der Schöpfung mit Jhwhs Treue und Güte”: Ibid., 210. “Von Jhwh, seinem himmlischen Thron und der himmlischen Ratsversammlung wird der Blick in V.16-19 auf die irdischen Gefilde und das Beziehungsgefüge beider Räume gelenkt”: Ibid., 219. This shows a heaven-to-earth direction of God’s power and glory that controlled the earthly kingship, and this top-down approach generally matches the motif in the *balag*.

²⁷² Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 44, 53, 55–56, 71, 75, 77–78, 186, 213, 223, 226, 230–231, 234, 238.

²⁷³ E.g., Westermann, *Lamentations*, 21; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 99–105.

²⁷⁴ F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A study of the City-lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), 30–96.

²⁷⁵ See the similarities explored by Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 199; Gwaltney, “The Biblical Book of Lamentations,” 208–209.

the prosecution against YHWH²⁷⁶ and the personification of Lady Zion (, Lam 1, 2, and 4),²⁷⁷ though there are differences.²⁷⁸ Therefore, the adaptations of in the exilic and post-exilic literary productions of lament imagery and language, which are generally similar to their Mesopotamian counterparts, would suggest that the exilic experience fostered the reaffirmation of these lament-traditions.²⁷⁹

There is obviously a temporal gap (more than 1,000 years) between the Sumerian city-laments and the biblical Lamentations. There is also a spatial gap between Palestine and Babylonia. Although the form, imagery, and ideology of the two sets of literature show general similarities, we must not forget that an explanation is needed for the mechanism and situation (spatial and temporal) of the influence. Gwaltney responds to this challenge by offering a brief history of lament-traditions from the city-laments to the *balag-eršemma* in the first millennium. He thinks that

[e]xiles, including priests from Babylonia familiar with long practiced Mesopotamian liturgies for rebuilding demolished shrines, jointed with their brothers who had been left behind “these 70 years” to live within sight of the ruins and to fast and mourn among the Temple’s ruin. Together they bewailed the fallen sanctuary as clearing the site began in preparation for reconstruction. Such an occasion would provide a fit setting for the recitation of

²⁷⁶ Westermann, *Lamentations*, 20–21; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 81.

²⁷⁷ Westermann, *Lamentations*, 14, 21.

²⁷⁸ For example, the Israelite lament-traditions do not contain the themes of “appeasing God’s wrath”, “protests of national defeat”, and “weeping God”: Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 92; Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 161, 169.

²⁷⁹ Scholars have long agreed that the Mesopotamian lament-tradition (e.g. city-lament, *balag-eršemma*) influenced the biblical lament-texts. But they have disagreed on the nature of the influence. Some scholars (e.g. Kramer, Gadd, and Kraus) have given positive assessments of the similarities between Lamentations and the Mesopotamian laments. Other scholars have tended to deny any direct literary dependent relationship between the two cultures: Westermann, *Lamentations*, 11–23; Thomas F. McDaniel, “The Alleged Sumerian Influence Upon Lamentations,” *VT* 18 (1968): 198–209. Some have resorted to “genre” in articulating the mutual similarities: Paul Wayne Ferris, *The Genre of Communal Lament in the Bible and the Ancient Near East*, SBLDS 127 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep*. Bouzard argues that the lament-psalms are not a reflection of the Babylonian exile (no historical reference) but an earlier (pre-exilic), cultural adoption of older Mesopotamian *balag-eršemma*: Bouzard, *We Have Heard*. Recently, a growing number of scholars have argued that the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles are most likely the periods for the Israelite elite to have experienced direct contact with *kalû*-priests who were the carriers of the Mesopotamian *balag-eršemma*: Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 294–295; Gwaltney, “The Biblical Book of Lamentations,” 210; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 84–85.

At this point, Gwaltney draws on the functional similarities of the two groups of laments, pointing out that the context of demolition and reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple that occurred in the exilic and post-exilic periods matches the common setting for reciting the Mesopotamian laments, especially the *Sitz im Leben* of *kalû*-priests (Nebuchadnezzar was active in rebuilding various temples). This closes the temporal and spatial gaps between the two cultures and gives a probable setting and motivation for the recitation of lamentations in exiled Judaeans.

Emmendorffer further responds to the challenge of closing the temporal and spatial gaps by choosing one particular *balag*, UDAM KI AMUS (*u₄-dam ki àm-ús*), which had been transmitted and reused from the Old Babylonian period to the Seleucid era. This *balag* contains imagery and language that were borrowed from the older Sumerian city-laments,²⁸¹ and is the “missing link” with which Emmendorffer attempts to fill the gaps. He thus posits a concrete historical connection between the *balag* of the generations of *kalû*-priests and the Israelite laments:

Das „missing link” zwischen den sumerischen Stadtklagen und den alttestamentlichen Threni bzw. Volksklageliedern stellen somit die sumerischen Balag-Klagen dar, die von der Gruppe der gala/kalû-Priester über Generationen hinweg bis in die seleukidische Zeit tradiert worden sind. Die Kenntnisnahme und Beeinflussung entsprechender Priesterkreise in Israel durch diese Texte kann sowohl in neuassyrischer als auch in neubabylonischer Zeit erfolgt sein.²⁸²

This concrete historical connection exactly matches the social conditions of the Babylonian royal court as illustrated in Section 3.1.1, in which the demolition and reconstruction of various Babylonian temples (and thus the chanting of *balag*-texts) probably occupied one main topic of conversation in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, and therefore the contact between the *kalû*-priests and the exiled Judaeans would

²⁸⁰ Gwaltney, “The Biblical Book of Lamentations,” 210.

²⁸¹ Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 28–38.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 294–295.

have occurred in a regular basis.

Some may disagree, suggesting that the similarities between the two lament cultures had already existed in the pre-exilic Israelite lament-traditions,²⁸³ or that the similarities are too general to support any direct literary dependence.²⁸⁴ It must however be noted that my articulation of the exilic influence does not necessarily contradict these scholars. Although *kalû*-priests and the exiled Judaeans probably had a social presence in the Babylonian royal court, this does not necessarily mean that these exiled Judaeans had access to any written *balag-eršemma*, because the cuneiform training culture was esoteric in nature and was inaccessible to foreign captives. This probably explains why the similarities are so general, defying any exact literary emulation. Furthermore, my thesis contends that the social conditions of the royal court only reaffirmed or reinforced, not created, the Israelite lament-traditions. This does not therefore contradict Bouzard's thesis about the pre-exilic origin of the Israelite lament-traditions.

In summary, there exists an influence of Babylonian laments (together with other Babylonian traditions) on the exilic and post-exilic biblical laments, the influence that is best regarded as a reaffirmation of shared motifs, themes, and imagery during the exile. The social context of the Babylonian royal court offers a historically probable case for historical contact between *kalû*-priests and the exiled Judaeans. We know from Section 3.1.1 that this contact is historically verifiable by 2Kgs 25:27-30, the Weidner tablet, and the prism of the Court of Nebuchadnezzar. We also know that this finding is supported by the thematic and structural influence on biblical lament-traditions, though we should not regard this influence as direct literary borrowing. Therefore, this increases the likelihood that the functional roles and the

²⁸³ E.g., Bouzard, *We Have Heard*.

²⁸⁴ E.g., McDaniel, "Alleged," 198–209; Westermann, *Lamentations*, 11–23.

ideology of *kalû*-priests (or scholar-singers) would have affected the literary depiction of singers and Levites in post-exilic texts such as Chronicles.

3.1.3. The City of Babylon

The Weidner tablet was found near the Ishtar Gate of Babylon, suggesting that Jehoiachin and his officials probably lived in Babylon, which was an ideological city.²⁸⁵ Its monumental art, royal inscriptions, fabulous temples, and palaces were built with reference to ideological principles. Nebuchadnezzar was the great builder of Babylon.²⁸⁶ He built the city according to the traditional description of the Babylonian worldview and gave theological significance to the cult of Marduk, the patron god of Babylon.²⁸⁷

The beauty of Babylon reached its culmination during Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Of special importance is the monumental art in the Ishtar Gate, where numerous bulls and dragons are seen surrounding the whole city, symbolising Marduk's protection of Babylon. This city wall was built to exclude the chaos outside and was believed to bring effective worldwide protection to Babylon.²⁸⁸ Another landmark building is the gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki, a tall tower, symbolising Babylon as the centre of the universe, the meeting place between heaven and earth.²⁸⁹ Located at the centre of Babylon is the Esagila temple. Its physical position suggests that the cult of Marduk

²⁸⁵ Marc van de Mieroop, "Reading Babylon," *AJA* 107 (2003): 257–275; Zainab Babrani, "The Babylonian Visual Image," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 168. Furthermore, a tablet (dated sixth century BCE) with a Babylonian map inscribed shows that Babylon was the centre of the world: Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World : Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Books of Psalms*, trans. Timothy J. Hallett (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 21–22.

²⁸⁶ Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 59–60.

²⁸⁷ Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East: C. 3000-330 B.C.*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 1995), 593.

²⁸⁸ Van de Mieroop, "Reading Babylon," 266–267; Babrani, "Visual Image," 166, 168; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East*, 2:593–595.

²⁸⁹ Van de Mieroop, "Reading Babylon," 264; Takayoshi Osbima, "The Babylonian God Marduk," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 355; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East*, 2:593; Gwendolyn Leick, *The Babylonians: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2003), 63; Bill T. Arnold, *Who Were the Babylonians?*, SBLABS 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 97.

affected the everyday lives of its inhabitants.²⁹⁰ All these buildings give an impression that Babylon itself was a microcosm that reflected the Mesopotamian cosmology.

As mentioned in Section 2.4.2, *En ma eliš* demonstrates the ideological understanding of the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon. This ideological understanding was physically realised when Nebuchadnezzar restored the beauty of this temple during his reign. The gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki (symbolising the *axis mundi*), was visible to all people in Babylon, designating the temple as the foundation of heaven and earth. Jehoiachin and his officials would have sensed such allusions when they were deported to Babylon, passing by the Ishtar Gate, witnessing the ziggurat. Since the Esagila temple was the main building in Babylon, and since its associated temple ideology was central for the Babylonian elite and royal court, it would be surprising if the deportees did not converse with native people about its theological significance.²⁹¹

The circumstantial factors of the temple ideologies would have affected the reaffirmation of some intra-Jewish notions in articulating the divine sanctuary in exilic and post-exilic biblical texts. This can be verified by Hartenstein's study²⁹² on some biblical texts in relation to the Jewish experience of Marduk's sanctuary. For example, a comparison between Ps 18 and 2Sam 22 shows that the concept of "heaven foundation" in relation to *Weltgebäudes* (Ps 18:8//2Sam 22:8) and the spatial orientation of the heaven foundation designated by the notion "from heaven" (Ps

²⁹⁰ Walther Sallaberger, "Palace and Temple in Babylonia," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 268–269.

²⁹¹ Although the chanting of *Enūma eliš* annually happened during the Near Year Festival, the *Akitu*-festival, we must not forget that the cultic performance was accessible to very few people in Babylon. Therefore, Jehoiachin and his officials seem unlikely to get access to the ritual pattern during the *Akitu*-festival: Osbima, "Marduk," 356.

²⁹² Friedhelm Hartenstein, "Wolkendunkel und Himmelsfeste: Zur Genese und Kosmologie der Vorstellung des himmlischen Heiligtums JHWHs," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 125–168.

18:14//2Sam 22:14) stand out prominently from the exilic period:²⁹³

Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations of *the mountains* () trembled and quaked, because he was angry. (Ps 18:8)

Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations of *the heavens* () trembled and quaked, because he was angry. (2Sam 22:8)

YHWH thundered *in the heaven* (), Elyon gave his voice. (Ps 18:14)

YHWH thundered *from heaven* (); Elyon gave his voice. (2Sam 22:14)

Ezekiel's description of the divine throne (lapis lazuli), in contrast to Exod 24:10, resembles the symbolic significance of the ziggurat and the divine throne linked to the Marduk residence of Esagila.²⁹⁴

[A]nd they saw the God of Israel. Under his feet there was something like a pavement of sapphire stone (), like the very heaven for clearness (). (Exod 24:10, NRSV)

And above the dome over their heads there was something *like a throne*, in appearance like sapphire (). (Ezek 1:26, NRSV)

Then I looked, and above the dome that was over the heads of the cherubim there appeared above them something like a sapphire, in form *resembling a throne* (). (Ezek 10:1, NRSV)

The exilic editing of Amos 9:5-6 also shares the idea of “upper chambers in the heavens”, which is also reflected in the Neo-Babylonian concept of the vertical connection between heaven and earth in the Esagila temple.²⁹⁵

The Lord, GOD of hosts, he who touches the earth²⁹⁶ and it melts, and all who live in it mourn, and all of it rises like the Nile, and sinks again, like the Nile of Egypt; who builds his *upper chambers in the heavens*, and founds his vault upon the earth; who calls for the waters of the sea, and pours them out upon the surface of the earth – the LORD is his name. (Amos 9:5-6,

²⁹³ Ibid., 133–135.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 136–152.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 152–166.

²⁹⁶ The concept of how the heavenly God touches (or disturbs) the earth resembles the heaven-to-earth motif in the *balag*, UDAM KI AMUS (*u₄-dam ki àm-ús*), explored by Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 28–38.

All of these examples show a Babylonian influence on the Jewish reception of the temple as realised template in the biblical texts during the exilic period. This further supports the belief that the Jewish experience of the exile would have intensified such a shared temple ideology in the ongoing reflection on the exile.

3.1.4. The Jewish Exile Communities in Babylonia

The fact that Jehoiachin was called “king” in all available sources strengthens the probability that he was the leader of the communities of Judah in Babylon and enjoyed a comfortable life. Perhaps, the success of his leadership is indirectly indicated by the fact that the life of deportees in Babylon did not involve severe conditions. The book of Jeremiah shows that they could build their houses, own properties, plant gardens, establish families, freely marry and have children, and maintain their religious prayer and piety (Jer 29:5-8). The book of Ezekiel indicates that the deportees enjoyed freedom and could talk freely to their neighbours (Ezek 33:30-33), and Ezekiel himself enjoyed the same freedom even though he was deported together with Jehoiachin (Ezek 1:1).

Recently, the TAYN corpus (nearly 100 texts) has been published (dated 572-498 BCE).²⁹⁷ The corpus contains tablets showing the names of Jewish deportees (with Yahwistic theophonic elements).²⁹⁸ It “records economic and administrative activities of the community of Judeans in Babylonia in well-attested text types: receipts for payments, debt notes for commodities owed, sales of livestock, and leases of houses and people”,²⁹⁹ echoing the depiction in Jer 29:5-8. Furthermore, it records that some

²⁹⁷ F. Joannès and A. Lemaire, “Trois Tablets Cunéiformes à L’onomastique Ouest-sémitique,” *Transeuphratène* 17 (1999): 17–33; Pearce, “New Evidence,” 401–402.

²⁹⁸ Pearce, “New Evidence,” 404.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 405.

Jewish officials were in charge of an administrative fiscal district called *a ru*.³⁰⁰ In the Persian period, the Judean *a ru*-organisation employed several Jewish interpreter-scribes to assist economic transactions, as shown in the Murashû archive.³⁰¹ It seems that this organisation remained active from the Neo-Babylonian to the Persian period. Economic transactions of this sort show clear evidence of acculturation and the full incorporation of the Jewish people into the daily life of the Babylonians.

About one-third of the TAYN corpus comes from a place called l-Y h du in the Babylon-Borsippa region.³⁰² This place has been interpreted as the settlement city of deportees from Judah in Babylon and has been referred to as “Jérusalem de Babylonie.”³⁰³ This suggests

[T]he Judean deportees and their descendants were sufficiently established in the social and economic life of Babylonia that their town could simply be called “Judah-ville” or the like. The integration of Judeans into Babylonian economic life is evidenced by their participation in very ordinary economic transactions in which they are recorded as the creditors and debtors in a variety of loan documents and receipts.³⁰⁴

The settlement would have been similar to the “China towns” that are found in various cities in England. Deportees from Judah could maintain their own culture, social network, and community in a foreign country with next in social importance to the Babylonians³⁰⁵ and without experiencing ethnic or religious hostility.³⁰⁶ According to Ezra-Nehemiah, many deportees chose to return to Palestine and Jerusalem. But a substantial portion of deportees chose to settle in various towns, such as l-Y h du, in

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 405–406.

³⁰¹ Ran Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Haifa: Univ. of Haifa, 1979), 70.

³⁰² Pearce, “New Evidence,” 401–403.

³⁰³ Joannès and Lemaire, “Trois,” 26.

³⁰⁴ Pearce, “New Evidence,” 402.

³⁰⁵ Samuel Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah According to Babylonian Inscriptions* (London: Jews’ College, 1910), 30.

³⁰⁶ M.A. Dandamaev, “Neo-Babylonian Society and Economy,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. John Boardman, vol. 3.2 (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 257.

Babylonia. Some fathers with West Semitic names raised sons with Akkadian names, or hybrid Akkadian-West Semitic names.³⁰⁷ This indicates that there was no obvious polemic towards the adoption of Akkadian names, and this implies a certain degree of acculturation (e.g. Zerubbabel means “Seed of Babylon”).

The economic life of Babylonian inhabitants was closely associated with Babylonian temples – sophisticated economic units that tied up various financial aspects of life such as recruitment, taxation, administration, education, manufacturing, and resource management. Temples in different cities were the main employers of cultic personnel including priests, scribes, exorcists, and singers. Lower ranking workforces included craftsmen, shepherds, and menial workers.³⁰⁸ They contributed to the income of temples in exchange for the redistribution of resources from the temple in the form of rations for temple dependents.³⁰⁹

The economic and autonomous structure of temples constitutes one of the main elements in Weinberg’s “pre-Hellenistic” culture that fostered the emergence of the citizen-temple community in Jerusalem.³¹⁰ Since a main purpose of the temple economy was to maintain cultic operations and to satisfy gods and kings, the economic aspects of life were strongly linked to the associated religious ideology.

The Jewish settlement in Babylon and returnees in Jerusalem established two centres of Judaism, with the majority of Jews living outside the Holy Land. What tied them together? One unifying factor may have been a shared participation in the Sabbath and various festivals associated with the sanctification of time.³¹¹ Another

³⁰⁷ Pearce, “New Evidence,” 405.

³⁰⁸ Michael Jursa, “The Babylonian Economy in the First Millennium BC,” in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 228–229.

³⁰⁹ Jursa, “Cuneiform Writing,” 186–187.

³¹⁰ Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 20.

³¹¹ Robert Hayward, “The Sanctification of Time in the Second Temple Period: Case Studies in the Septuagint and Jubilees,” in *Holiness Past and Present*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2003), 143–144. For the increasing importance of the Sabbath, the obedience to the law, and prayer during the exile, see Ernest W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition in the*

possible point of unity was the shared concern for the Jerusalem temple. The number of West-Semitic names, with YHWH-theophonic elements, appearing in the Murashû archive would suggest that Jews in Babylonia kept their faith in one God and had their heart towards their home in Jerusalem in the Persian period.³¹² The cult and the welfare of Jerusalem were regularly supported by Jews (such as Ezra and Nehemiah) in Babylonia (Ezra 7; Neh 2:10).

Furthermore, the widespread Jewish settlements in Babylonia and Palestine would have fostered the rethinking of Jewish faith, in which YHWH was reaffirmed as the God of heaven and earth in order to tie scattered Jews together. The Jerusalem temple came to be seen as the meeting place between heaven and earth, so that scattered Jews maintained their hearts towards this holy place (2Chr 6:36-40). This theological outlook, common in the Mesopotamian temple culture and some pre-exilic Israelite traditions (e.g. Isa 6:3), emphasises and reaffirms the realm of YHWH in the worldwide sphere, so that Jews in both Babylonia and Palestine worshipped the same God, even though they were physically separated. Musicians were therefore in high demand because music and prayer were the most effective ways to maintain liturgical practices in Babylonia, where they could not offer sacrifice.³¹³

3.1.5. The Descendants of Jehoiachin

The Weidner tablet shows that five sons of Jehoiachin (described as the princes of Judah) received rations. This cannot be easily harmonised with the information that Jehoiachin was only eighteen years old when he was deported in 597 BCE. It would be impossible for him to have fathered five sons in such a short period.³¹⁴ It is

Book of Jeremiah (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 122–125.

³¹² Daiches, *Jews in Babylonia*, 32–33.

³¹³ Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 109; Nicholson, *Preaching*, 122.

³¹⁴ W.J. Martin, "The Jehoiachin Tablets," in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. Winton Thomas (London: Nelson, 1958), 85.

possible that he had more than one wife in his youth (2Kgs 24:15).³¹⁵ But more importantly, both Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were legitimate descendants of David.³¹⁶ Sheshbazzar was perceived as “prince of Judah” () (Ezra 1:8; 5:14), which exactly matches the title (*mâr šarri ša j udu*) used to describe the five sons of Jehoiachin in the Weidner tablet. According to Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were the high officials appointed by the Persian ruling class to lead the first and second waves of returnees to Jerusalem. They were the son and grandson of Jehoiachin, respectively, and they continued to exercise the political influence of their father among the communities of Judah and during the rebuilding of the second temple.³¹⁷ As I shall show, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah may reinforce three themes of continuity in relation to Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel.

3.1.6. Summary

To conclude, I submit that Jehoiachin and his royal officials experienced a thorough interaction with Mesopotamian culture. First, Jehoiachin is called “king” in all of our sources. This probably indicates his involvement in the Babylonian royal court, enabling Jewish scholars to socially interact with the Babylonian scholar-singers, especially *kalû*-priests. This outlines a probable mechanism for how these Jewish scholars were influenced by the Mesopotamian scribal-musical practices and norms, so that some intra-Jewish traditions were reaffirmed and used for building Jewish self-identity. Second, there exists an influence of Babylonian laments on the biblical

³¹⁵ Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 119.

³¹⁶ Scholars have reached no consensus on whether Shenazzar () (1Chr 3:18) and Sheshbazzar () (Ezra 1:8) are the same person or not, and on whether the father of Zerubbabel is Shealtiel (Ezra 3:2) or Pedaiah (1Chr 3:19). For the discussions, see Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1910), 103; Jacob M. Myers, *1 Chronicles*, AB 12 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 18; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 99; Albright, “The Date,” 108–110; P.R. Berger, “Zu Den Namen and (Esr. 1:8, 11; 5:14, 16 bzw. 1 Chr. 3:18),” *ZAW* 83 (1971): 98–100; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 120; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 328.

³¹⁷ Schniedewind, *How the Bible*, 158–164.

laments during the exile, which also suggests that there was contact between *kalû*-priests and the exiled Judaeans. Third, the city of Babylon was fashioned as a microcosm of the whole world, such that Jewish deportees were probably influenced and even inspired by the Babylonian version of the temple as realised template, which would then have informed intra-Jewish reflection on this shared concept. This also indicates an influence of the description of sanctuary in some exilic and post-exilic texts. Fourth, the exiles from Judah, from the royal family downwards, were settled and at ease in Babylon. This indicates a high degree of enculturation. Fifth, the descendants of Jehoiachin continued to have an impact in leading the returns.

When this evidence is considered in its entirety, it seems highly improbable that Jews living in Babylon were untouched by the surrounding culture, since all available material examined here points unambiguously towards that conclusion. This explanation is thus at least highly probable and should be given its full weight.

3.2. The Citizen-Temple Community and the Influence of Mesopotamia

I have argued that Jews and Babylonians interacted socially on a regular basis, and that such interaction contributed vigorously to a continuing reflection among Jews about their own theological convictions, especially the temple as realised template and music. From the perspective of Jewish returnees, this would have contributed an intrinsic element to “the experience of the exile”. Any discussion of “the experience of the exile” would be incomplete if this crucial comparative element were omitted, nor would it be sufficient to talk about “the experience of the return” if we neglect it.

In this section, I explore the Jewish exile community and its claim to be the authentic community, maintaining a profound awareness of continuity with pre-exilic worship and the exilic experience. I argue that the socio-ideological milieu of the newly established, Jewish return community fostered the ideological development of

the temple as realised template and the importance of music along with that template. This development of ideas shows a deepening of the community's theological understanding of the inauguration of the Jerusalem temple that was enriched by the insights from the experience of the exile. I explore three themes of continuity (temple, singers, and vessels) in order to show some preliminary examples of how the choice of ideas embedded in the Israelite traditions had been affected by the Mesopotamian influence, when the community (or those who were concerned with the community) resorted to this threefold continuity as a hallmark of authority and authenticity in its literary production.

3.2.1. The “Authentic” Community and Their Identity Making

The most compelling evidence to support an argument for the incorporation of insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context is the fact that many biblical texts recognise only the returnees as the authentic community to have perpetuated pre-exilic traditions in their ongoing intra-Jewish reflections.³¹⁸ The depictions of Ezra-Nehemiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel show that there was a somewhat negative attitude towards the non-exiled people who remained in the land of Israel. Two points briefly demonstrate how this claim of authentic community works.

First, there was a tendency to preserve genealogies to ensure the purity of the returnees. Ezra 2:59 and Neh 7:61 illustrate a problem: some people could not prove whether they belonged to Israel. This means that an official document of genealogies (Neh 7:5) probably existed as a reference for the Jewish identity of each person.³¹⁹

³¹⁸ Weinberg writes, “[T]he Jewish exiles in Mesopotamia ... played an important, even decisive role in the formation of the postexilic community”: Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 129. Also Juha Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe: The Development of Ezra 7-10 and Nehemiah 8*, BZAW 347 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 255–256; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism, the First Phase: The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 32–37.

³¹⁹ Cf. Oded, “Observations,” 212.

The returnees also rejected foreign wives and their children (Ezra 10:6-44) in order to maintain their national identity, boundaries, and purity.³²⁰ This concern for national identity is also manifested in keeping the Sabbath and observing the law (e.g. Neh 10:29-32) as marks of identity.³²¹ Thus the exile and return created an environment that fostered the deepening of identity by means of preserving genealogies, traditions, and even national historiography.

Second, there was a general attitude of polemic towards the people who remained in the land of Israel. The returnees led by Zerubbabel did not share their temple building project with the earlier settlement of the people, described as “the adversaries of Judah”, in Israel since the days of King Esarhaddon of Assyria (Ezra 4:1-2). The phrase “people of the land” became a “stereotype formula”³²² to describe those people from whom the returnees should separate (Ezra 9:1), because of their abominations that polluted the land (Ezra 9:11), in order to adhere to the law of God together with all the return family members (Neh 10:29-30).³²³ These concepts of separation represented a special concern for holiness and purity as identity markers.³²⁴

Jeremiah also describes a vision in which the Babylonian deportees under Jehoiachin’s leadership were “good figs”, while those remaining in the land of Israel under Zedekiah’s authority were “bad figs” (Jer 24:1-10).³²⁵ Nicholson also plausibly argues that many prophetic traditions pose a negative attitude towards non-exiled people.³²⁶ Ezekiel poses a negative judgment on the inhabitants of the wasteland of Israel (Ezek 33:23-29). Only those who were exiled were considered as the true

³²⁰ David Janzen, *Witch-hunts, Purity and Social Boundaries: The Expulsion of the Foreign Women in Ezra 9-10*, JSOTSS 350 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2002).

³²¹ Eph’al, “Political and Social,” 110.

³²² Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 67.

³²³ Cf. Daniel Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 150.

³²⁴ Carter, *Yehud*, 311–316; Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 18.

³²⁵ Oded, “Judah,” 473.

³²⁶ Nicholson, *Preaching*, 127–131.

remnant of Israel, and this explains why the exile community produced scribal creations from its own perspective, in order to protect their own Jewish identity.

We can interpret this identity making in terms of an increasing theological awareness of YHWH's covenant in relation to the real piety of those returnees,³²⁷ or we can understand it as a sociological stance, which was cautious to establish social boundaries in face of the challenges from their oppressors.³²⁸ We also can see it as arising from the political and religious tensions between Samaria and Yehud.³²⁹ The theological, political, and social dimensions were all relevant and cannot be separated into different isolated categories.

My approach aims to explain identity making from a slightly different angle: Jewish returnees tended to maintain their authentic identity while, at the same time, they had accepted insights from Mesopotamia. Some might think that these two tendencies are incompatible. However, it is likely, precisely because of the compelling evidence that the intensive interaction in the Mesopotamian social conditions forced Jewish scholars to rethink and redescribe their faith in order to maintain their uncompromised identity in the cultural background. They would probably ask, "How can we legitimise and promote the sole worship of YHWH in the citizen-temple community in the face of the challenges of our Babylonian-Persian oppressors?" and, "How can we encourage the members inside the community not to forsake the faith of YHWH as our essential identity marker in these cultural surroundings, in which everyone believes that their temples can foster well-being, security, and worldwide stability?" Since this return community had encountered the exile as a traumatic event, their close connections with the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context in their recent

³²⁷ E.g., Fredrick Carlson Holmgren, *Israel Alive Again: A Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 136–140.

³²⁸ E.g., Janzen, *Witch-hunts*.

³²⁹ E.g., Peter R. Ackroyd, *The Chronicler in His Age*, JSOTSS 101 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 98–104.

past would have strongly influenced their reformulation of Jewish identity. Certain Babylonian ways of expressing the temple as realised template would probably have affected the reinterpretation of Israelite traditions in such a way as to give authenticity to the second temple cult.

We see that the Jerusalem temple in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles occupies *the* central concern,³³⁰ and its associated priests and Levites are more elaborate and hierarchical than in Samuel-Kings. Also, the themes of “exile” and “return” consistently dominate Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles as *the* typological themes in the storyline.³³¹ This strong awareness of “exile-return” and “temple” is a compelling argument in support of the view that the authors saw the exile-return experience and the authenticity of the Jerusalem temple as the two interwoven theological and metaphorical self-definitions that most affected the hermeneutical situations.³³² As such, the insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singers would have been helpful in connecting these two ideological identity markers together insofar as the ideas surrounding the temple as realised template would have fostered the fashioning of the Jerusalem temple as an effective connective place between heaven and earth in the face of the Babylonian-Persian challenges.

The claim to authentic community established a scribal context for perpetuating traditions across the exile. The returnees’ thought had been shaped by their experience of the exile, so that richly developed new lines of thought emerged alongside the scribal-musical influence of Mesopotamia. Concerning the development of thought

³³⁰ H.G.M. Williamson, “The Temple in the Books of Chronicles,” in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, FAT 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 150; Williamson, *Ezra*, xlix; Coggins, *Chronicles*, 6–7.

³³¹ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 350. “Exile” was the identity marker for legitimising those who continued pre-exilic traditions in Ezra-Nehemiah: Williamson, *Ezra*, li.

³³² Ehud Ben Zvi, “What Is New in Yehud? Some Considerations,” in *Yahwism After the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking, STAR 5 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 34–38.

during the exile, Ackroyd writes,

But it is not only the heritage of the past which comes into new focus at this period. The events, themselves necessitating rethinking, have provoked the development of new lines of thought, markedly in the great prophets of the time, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, and, echoing them and the other thought of the period, in their successors in the immediate post-exilic period, Haggai, Zechariah, Trito-Isaiah and Malachi. The richness too of the differing reactions to the events, and of the understanding of the nature of restoration, shows how deep an impression was made upon the community by the period, and how fertile were the minds which interpreted what happened and what they understood to be the outcome of the events.³³³

These “new lines of thought” are examples of a textual openness to many ideas stemming from the experience of the exile-return. I thus do not believe that the insights obtained from the Mesopotamian counterparts played no part in the emergence of new lines of thought. And now we see the large amount of exilic literature created in the HB that seems to presuppose a strong exilic consciousness. The social, political, and theological agendas of the citizen-temple community, would have provided strong motivations for incorporating, if not directly borrowing, the Mesopotamian way of articulating the temple as realised template in the inauguration of the second temple cult and in scribal works, in order to increase the authenticity and legitimacy of the Jewish temple in light of the challenges posed by their oppressors.

3.2.2. Temple and Singers in Ezra-Nehemiah and Haggai

The Weidner tablet suggests that the Babylonian patron supported foreigners according to their familial unit. The authenticity of the familial unit of a given individual came from its related genealogy. The familial unit served not only as a reflection of kinship but also as a functional group, exercising different professions from the pre-exilic monarchy to the post-exilic community. These units concentrated

³³³ Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C* (London: Xpress Reprints, 1994), 233.

on the development of particular skills, passed from father to son, so that the professions of scribe, singer, priest, and Levites enjoyed unbroken stability along the familial lines. This resembles the father-son apprenticeship of *kalûtu*. These familial lines legitimise a person as a rightful successor of a particular profession.

One family of Israelites – the family of the singer Asaph – should claim our attention here. In Ezra-Nehemiah, the Asaphites were among the returnees (Ezra 2:41) led by Zerubbabel. The official status of Asaphites was maintained because they were singled out to receive directly “daily provision” () from the Persian king (Neh 11:22-23). They were also free from the imposition of tribute, custom, and toll (Ezra 7:24). This special favour towards musicians was widely shared in the broader Mesopotamian culture. Why were singers, such as Asaphites, highly esteemed in the literary depiction of the second temple worship?

As I have shown in Section 2.4.2, the ideas surrounding the temple as realised template had been recontextualised in different cultic contexts in Mesopotamia in order to promote the significance and authenticity of temple sites in socio-political terms. Music and singers had been a consistent, intrinsic element in the infrastructure of the concept. We also saw in Section 3.1.3 that Babylon was fashioned as a world city, at the centre of the whole world, and that music had an important role to play in this formulation. Now we see the prominence of music in Ezra 3:10-13, the liturgy for the completion of the foundation laid for the Jerusalem temple (cf. the life situation of the liturgy of *kalû*). How can these parallels be explained?

First, the phrases and which appear in Ezra 2:68; 5:15; 6:7 seem to presuppose that the temple “was to be built on the same site as the former temple.”³³⁴ Ezra 3:12 seems to link the foundation with the former temple (), in that emphasises the continuity between the first and second

³³⁴ Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1989), 102.

temples.³³⁵ Although the rebuilt temple may not have been physically comparable to the former one,³³⁶ the theme of continuity still stands out in at least four ways: (1) a conscious appeal to David's authority (Ezra 3:10), (2) a claim to follow Moses' authority (Ezra 6:18), (3) a consistent literary pattern being used to describe the inauguration of both temples (2Chr 5:1-14; 7:1-10; Ezra 3:10-11; 6:16-18), and (4) "they centered their cult on the precise spot where God had revealed that 'the altar of burnt-offering for Israel' should be situated"³³⁷ (Ezra 3:3; 1Chr 22:1). This theme of continuity thus constitutes one of the main theological devices for establishing the authenticity of the second temple during the process of identity making.

Second, Ezra 3:10-13 closely resembles the depiction in Job 38:6-7, in which YHWH lays the cornerstone of the whole world. The praise and thanksgiving of the Levitical singers in Ezra 3:10-11 (with "great shout/joy") resembles the "shout for joy" (, a cognate of) of the heavenly angels in Job 38:7. This correspondence between the founding of a temple and the creation of the whole world is also implied in the many hymnic descriptions which use the common verb "lay, establish" () in Pss 24:2; 89:12; 102:26; 104:5; Prov 3:19; Amos 9:6; Isa 48:13; 51:13-16; and Zech 12:1, as Blenkinsopp illustrates,³³⁸ probably showing how the chanting of Levitical singers imitated the angelic joyful shouts. The involvement of singers in the second temple theologically supported its theological significance for promoting worldwide stability and blessing (Hag 2:18-19), as also indicated in the Mesopotamian counterparts and in the life situation of the liturgy of *kalû*.

Sociologically speaking, it promoted the authenticity of the second temple compared to the surrounding Mesopotamian temples and thus deepened the process of

³³⁵ Williamson, *Ezra*, 42.

³³⁶ Ibid., 48; Holmgren, *Alive Again*, 27.

³³⁷ Williamson, *Ezra*, 46.

³³⁸ Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 103.

identity making. For instance, according to Ezra, Darius wanted the temple worship in Jerusalem to invoke the heavenly God to bless his family (Ezra 6:10). Artaxerxes also cared whether the exact details of this worship could match “the law of the God of heaven” (Ezra 7:21), in order to avoid any wrath coming upon “the realm of king and his heirs” (Ezra 7:23). This probably verifies that the rebuilt temple was seen as a place built for the purposes of promoting well-being and security, a concern that is closely similar to that of the *kalû*-ritual (cf. Section 2.4.1) The theme of continuity was thus not only a product of the reinterpretation of traditions but also was affected by the culture of Mesopotamia, so that certain intra-Jewish traditions were reaffirmed in these reinterpreting activities in order to support the authenticity of the second temple.

The purpose of rebuilding the second temple in relation to the promotion of well-being and stability is explicitly spelled out in the book of Haggai, in which the historical background of temple restoration in relation to Haggai’s prophecy (in about 520 BCE) should not be doubted.³³⁹ Most scholars agree that the prophet was familiar with biblical traditions and utilised them in conveying the oracles in relation to the second temple ideology.³⁴⁰ For example, the treaty or “futility-curse” form in Hag 1:3-11 leads Kessler to state that the author narrates a theme of continuity based on the Deuteronomistic tradition (Deut 28; Judg 2:11-14) and recontextualises the theme of “rebuilding the temple” into this tradition, in order to fashion the temple

³³⁹ Although the final form of the book of Haggai may be a product of compilations, most scholars think that Haggai’s oracles contains his genuine utterances that were originally delivered by him: Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 9–13. The primary audience should be Zerubbabel (Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4, 21, 23), perhaps with (or without) Joshua (Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4): Janet E. Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1-8*, JSOTSS 150 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 21–23; Tim Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, RNBC (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 199–202. Both the date in Hag 1:1 (the second year of Darius I) and the addressee (Zerubbabel), together with the central concern of the temple, match the historical background of rebuilding the second temple in about 520 BCE. The temple ideology inside the oracles was also firmly rooted in the historical, economic, and social settings. For a survey: Mark J. Boda, *Haggai & Zechariah Research: A Bibliographic Survey* (Leiden: Deo, 2003), 7–14.

³⁴⁰ E.g., Tollington, *Tradition*; Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, eds., *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology* (New York: T&T Clark, 2008); Peter R. Ackroyd, “Studies in the Book of Haggai,” *JJS* 2 (1951): 175.

reconstruction as the new condition for obtaining covenantal blessings. Kessler asserts that the temple's rebuilding can thereby be conceived as a "covenantal duty".³⁴¹ This new adaptation of older traditions in understanding the temple's rebuilding exemplifies how the intra-Jewish traditions were reaffirmed in the literary productions of the temple community.

One example can be seen in Hag 1:10-11:

1:10	Therefore, the heavens above you ³⁴² withheld the dew, and the earth withheld its produce.
1:11	And I have called for a drought upon the earth and upon the mountains and upon the grain and upon ³⁴³ the new wine and upon the oil and upon what the ground will bring out and upon the mankind and upon the animals and upon all products of toil. ³⁴⁴

The temple was rebuilt in the hope of obtaining God's acceptance³⁴⁵ (Hag 1:8) and peace³⁴⁶ (, Hag 2:9). Lack of fertility was understood as the direct consequence of neglecting the rebuilding of the temple (Hag 1:9). The word "therefore" () in Hag 1:10 expresses a "cause-and-effect" connection between negligence (Hag 1:9) and infertility (Hag 1:10).³⁴⁷ This infertility was also seen as the resulting from the

³⁴¹ John Kessler, "Tradition, Continuity and Covenant in the Book of Haggai: An Alternative Voice from Early Persian Yehud," in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 14–19.

³⁴² G misses "above you". MT is to be preferred.

³⁴³ Mss reads . MT is to be preferred.

³⁴⁴ Literally, "of human palms".

³⁴⁵ This "acceptance" usually relates to the acceptance of offerings and gifts: David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), 51; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 67–68.

³⁴⁶ The concept of "peace, well-being" in relation to the function of the temple resembles the temple ideology of fostering stability in Mesopotamia.

³⁴⁷ Petersen, *Haggai*, 53–54; Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, 129; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, AB 25B (Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 43.

action of the heaven and earth (Hag 1:10), a bipolar expression of the entire universe. It seems that a connection was made between temple, fertility (or stability), and the whole world. This connection resembles the Mesopotamian temple ideologies, probably influencing the reaffirmation of these intra-Jewish notions.

Another example can be found in Hag 2:6-7, 21-22:

2:6	For thus says YHWH of hosts, “Once again, in a little while, I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry ground,
2:7	and I will shake all the nations, and the treasure of all nations shall come, and I will fill this temple with glory.” Says YHWH of hosts.
2:21	Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, saying, “I will shake the heavens and the earth,
2:22	and I will overturn the throne of kingdoms, and I will exterminate the strength of the kingdoms of the nations, and I will overturn chariot and its rider, and the horses and their riders will fall, every one by the sword of a fellow.

These oracles contain two keywords, “shake” () and “overturn” (). “Shake” could be used as a term of theophany (Isa 24:18; Ezek 38:20; Joel 2:10; 3:16),³⁴⁸ expressing the glory and judgment of YHWH (Ezek 3:12; 38:19; Jer 10:10, 23; 47:3).³⁴⁹ “Overturn” probably denotes YHWH’s power to intervene in human

³⁴⁸ Andrew E. Hill, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 28 (Downers Grove: IVP, 2012), 79.

³⁴⁹ Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, 164.

affairs,³⁵⁰ just as YHWH “overturn” Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:21-29).³⁵¹ The scope of these divine actions involves “the throne of kingdoms”, “heaven and earth”, and “the kingdoms of the nations”. These notions testify to the universality of God’s rule, which controls and governs the world.³⁵² In this way, rebuilding the temple was seen as having an impact on all of the kingdoms surrounding Judah.³⁵³ Furthermore, the theme, “I am with you” (), appears in Hag 1:13; 2:4, encouraging Zerubbabel to build the temple. If we assume that divine presence relates to divine blessing, then building the temple could be seen as having an impact on fostering worldwide stability. Therefore, the rebuilding of the second temple was seen as fostering stability and fertility worldwide under the universality of God’s rule. This resembles the Babylonian temple ideologies and the heaven-to-earth motif in the *balag* traditions, probably influencing the reaffirmation of intra-Jewish notions, when Jews attempted to increase the authenticity of the temple.

Third, that insights were carried from Mesopotamia can be verified by a similar practice shown in some Neo-Babylonian temple building inscriptions depicting how Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus rebuilt temples, probably performing *kalû*-liturgy:

The usual function of the *kalû* was to placate the gods; in this case the essential part of the ritual was the removal of a brick from the old temple. The brick was set aside; offerings were made and lamentations sung before it, while the old temple was being demolished, until the foundations of the new temple were laid. The purpose of this ritual was apparently to bridge the

³⁵⁰ Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 67.

³⁵¹ Hill, *Haggai*, 95.

³⁵² Cf. Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1984), 158; Petersen, *Haggai*, 67; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 102–103. Tollington writes, “there would seem to be some grounds for suggesting that hopes for Yahweh’s universal rule were turned into firm belief during the postexilic era and that Haggai and Zechariah may have contributed to the development of this idea”: Tollington, *Tradition*, 218.

³⁵³ Most scholars think that Hag 2:6-7, 21-22 express a kind of eschatological concern: Tollington, *Tradition*, 216–244; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 52–53; Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, 164–165; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 37–39. But the future action could probably be rooted in present events and the theological significance of the temple.

gap between the existence of the old and new temples.³⁵⁴

Babylonians were particularly concerned with continuity in rebuilding their earlier temples, in which the foundations represented the blueprint and determined the world balance.³⁵⁵ This practice may have provided insight to Jewish thinkers during the exile-return experience. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that the significance of singers widely recognised in Mesopotamia would have been helpful in strengthening the identity making of a community and the perpetuation of pre-exilic worship in their post-exilic literary productions.

Ezra the scribe () is of particular importance to this discussion. According to Ezra 7, he was sponsored by King Artaxerxes of Persia (7:6, 17-20) to establish the temple worship in Jerusalem. He was described as “a scribe skilled in the law of Moses” (7:6), as a person who “fixed his heart to seek the law of YHWH, and to do it, and to teach in Israel the statutes and ordinances” (7:10), as “the priest” (7:12), and as “the scribe of the law of the God of heaven” (7:12, 21).³⁵⁶ The expression “a scribe skilled” () in Ezra 7:6 is exactly the same as that in Ps 45:2, which describes the psalmist’s tongue as “the pen of a skilful scribe” (). Ps 45 should be regarded as a pre-exilic psalm,³⁵⁷ in which (Ps 45:2) probably reflects the meaning of Ugaritic *mhr* that “encapsulates both aspects, that of ‘quickness’ and that of buying and being in someone’s pay [i.e. commercial scribes].”³⁵⁸ Therefore, is probably a technical term to designate rapid

³⁵⁴ Ellis, *Foundation*, 13. Cf. David L. Petersen, “Zerubbabel and Jerusalem Temple Reconstruction,” *CBQ* 36 (1974): 368–370.

³⁵⁵ Leick, *Babylonians*, 106–107.

³⁵⁶ Cf. Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 36–37, 83–84.

³⁵⁷ Carr, *Formation*, 390–391.

³⁵⁸ Joachim Schaper, “Hebrew and Its Study in the Persian Period,” in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, ed. William Horbury (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 20. Cf. Hugo Gressmann, “Die Neugefundene Lehre Des Amen-em-ope Und Die Vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels,” *ZAW* 42 (1924): 295.

scribes in ancient Israel who were able to record the oral composition of a poet.³⁵⁹ This resembles the collaboration of scribe and singer as reflected in Shulgi's hymns.

In Ezra 7:6, is further qualified by adding "in the law of Moses" (), confining the designation of "skilful" to those who had mastery of the *Torah*. This may show a development of Israelite scribal profession from that of commercial or royal scribes to that of *Torah*-scholars.³⁶⁰ However, there is no clear evidence to suggest that the later use of (describing Ezra as a *Torah*-scholar) completely superseded its earlier technical use (describing a commercial or royal, scribal psalmist). The wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture saw no dichotomy between hymnic composition and the transmission of legal traditions; a *kalû*-father could be proficient in both areas.

Schaeder's comparative study on the Babylonian-Persian administrative milieu argues that Ezra obtained the official state of secretary in Babylonia (i.e. Persian Secretariat), so could be a Jewish paraphrase of Ezra's official state.³⁶¹ While it is doubtful whether Ezra historically obtained the high-level function that would have allowed him to exercise the law in the satrapy,³⁶² it at least increases the likelihood that Jews viewed Ezra as comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers;³⁶³ as Myers says, "If Ezra was originally [viewed as] a Persian court officer he must have been skilled in the scribal art."³⁶⁴ This wider cultural consideration probably suggests that the author of Ezra-Nehemiah wished to characterise Ezra as , which includes the meaning of *Torah*-proficiency

³⁵⁹ Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, WBC 19 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1983), 339.

³⁶⁰ Schaper, "Hebrew," 19–22.

³⁶¹ Schaeder, *Ezra*, 39–59.

³⁶² Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 73; Pakkala, *Ezra*, 75–76, 240–241.

³⁶³ The title applied to Ezra could have double senses: Persian Secretary (*Schreiber*) and the legalistic representative of Babylonian Jewry (*Schriftgelehrter*): William McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men*, SBT 44 (London: SCM, 1965), 35; Schaeder, *Ezra*, 39.

³⁶⁴ Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, AB 14 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 61.

(scholar) together with its earlier meaning as “scribal-psalmist” (singer). Therefore, Ezra was probably characterised as a scholar-singer with a good knowledge of teaching the *Torah* and composing hymnic traditions (irrespective of historicity).

According to Nehemiah, Ezra brought “the scroll of the law of Moses, which YHWH had given to Israel” (Neh 8:1), and together with the Levites “read aloud from (at) the scroll, from (at) the law of God, with interpretation ().³⁶⁵ They gave the sense, so that *the people* understood the reading” (Neh 8:8). He also stood before () the Levitical musicians (or led them) to sing praise during the dedication of the Jerusalem city wall (Neh 12:35-36).³⁶⁶ These portrayals of Ezra as both *Torah*-teacher (Neh 8:1-8) and chief singer (Neh 12:35-36) further verify that he was portrayed as a scholar-singer with roles such as scribe, priest, teacher, interpreter, *Torah*-scholar, and chief singer comparable to *rab zamm r* in the Babylonian royal court. Ezra the scribe can therefore be perceived as a literary example of a Jewish scholar-singer, who brought his law of Moses, a symbol of continuity, with him.³⁶⁷

Ezra 8:15-20 states that Ezra could order the captive descendants of Levi for the service of the temple. This particular depiction of Levitical communities in Babylonia probably supports that the Babylonian-Persian culture was essential to nourish these communities. Some Levites were recognised as “wise men” () (8:16). They had their “leader/head” () (8:17). Some were “temple servants” () (8:17, 20), “ministers” () (8:17), and “man of discretion” () (8:18). Since the word “discretion” () is closely associated with the observance of the Mosaic Law (Deut 29:8; 32:29; 1Chr 22:12), the *Torah*-teaching Levites probably intended to increase

³⁶⁵ means “make clear” with a sense of waiting for a decision (Lev 24:12; Num 15:34). It might be that the law of Moses was written in Hebrew that needed a further translation or interpretation into Aramaic before the people could understand: Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 15–16. Then the people somehow “waited” for the interpretative decisions to be made by the teaching Levites. Cf. Schaefer, *Ezra*, 51–57.

³⁶⁶ Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 20.

³⁶⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, 12–23; Grabbe, *Yehud*, 332–337.

the discretion of the people (Neh 8:8, 13). Some Levites were described as possessing “discretion” in their gatekeeping (1Chr 26:14), and some were recognised by the phrase “all the Levites who showed good discretion for YHWH” (

) (2Chr 30:22). This “all” must have included Levitical singers (2Chr 30:21).³⁶⁸ We can then see that the multi-functional Levitical communities in captivity formed a base from which the Levitical singers emerged as teachers, sages, servants, and ministers. Again, we can detect no division of labour; the boundaries between different offices fluctuated, as it did among the *kalû*-priests.

The reformulation of the Jewish professional profile that was comparable to the institution of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests would have increased the social status of Ezra and his Levitical communities because the Mesopotamian scholar-singers belonged to the upper stratum of their societies. In the response to the challenges posed by their enemies, it would have been reasonable for the author(s) to refashion priests and Levites as belonging to such an elite in order to strengthen their social roles as authoritative experts in temple organisation.

3.2.3. Temple Vessels in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah

The repeated references to temple vessels provide another theme of continuity, and several scholars have examined the purpose of the Chronicler in its development.³⁶⁹

Kalimi and Purvis offer two observations. First, in the abbreviated depiction of Jehoiachin’s deportation (2Chr 36:10), when compared to 2Kgs 24:10-16, “the deportees were reduced to the person of the king, the booty was reduced to the

³⁶⁸ probably refers also to musical activity as attested in Ps 47:8: Von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 103.

³⁶⁹ Peter R. Ackroyd, “The Temple Vessels - A Continuity Theme,” in *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, SVT 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 166–181; Isaac Kalimi and James D. Purvis, “King Jehoiachin and the Vessels of the Lord’s House in Biblical Literature,” *CBQ* 56 (1994): 449–457.

precious vessels of the temple.”³⁷⁰ Second, the Chronicler describes the removal of these precious vessels, while 2Kgs 24:13 describes the destruction of golden vessels.³⁷¹ According to 2Chr 36:18, “all the vessels of the house of God, large and small ... all these he brought to Babylon” (

) (NRSV). The repetition of suggests that no vessel was destroyed, but “all” were removed to Babylonia. If Ezra-Nehemiah is an earlier document than Chronicles, then the Chronicler actually constructs this continuity with Ezra-Nehemiah. Ezra 1:7 (NRSV) describes that “King Cyrus himself brought out the vessels of the house of the LORD *that Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem* (

) and placed in the house of his gods.” These vessels were the very ones that had been carried by Nebuchadnezzar during the exile. Now, they were handed over to Sheshbazzar to carry back to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:8). An inventory of these vessels had been kept (Ezra 1:9-10) to ensure that they were of pre-exilic origin.

In Chronicles and P, temple vessels are divided into “holy vessels” and “vessels of service.”³⁷² Other than the trumpet, musical instruments () are considered vessels of service.³⁷³ Since the Chronicler describes a complete removal of *all* temple vessels in the Babylonian exile (2Chr 36:18), musical instruments would have been included in the deportation.

Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah show a strong concern for the continuity of temple personnel and temple vessels, probably because it was impossible to practice an authentic temple worship bearing worldwide significance, without the complete set of personnel and vessels. 1Chr 28:11-19 describes David directly receiving for the temple and instructing Solomon to build the earthly temple according this template.

³⁷⁰ Kalimi and Purvis, “Jehoiachin,” 452.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 77–78.

³⁷³ Ibid., 78.

Within the content of this template, “the divisions of priests and the Levites” (), and “all the vessels of service” () (1Chr 28:13) constitute two main components. 1Chr 28:14-17 describes an inventory of temple vessels, and this inventory generally matches that of the vessels carried by Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:9-10). All these personnel and temple vessels had to return to Jerusalem, in order for earthly temple worship to match the heavenly template (cf. Section 4.3.2),³⁷⁴ and Levitical singers and their corresponding musical instruments had to perform in both the first and second temples. These three themes of continuity – temple, singers, and vessels – were the hallmarks of the authority (thus authenticity) of the citizen-temple community in respect to promoting the social, theological, and political significance of the Jerusalem temple.

3.3. Conclusion

I have presented possible mechanisms and motivations for Jewish-Babylonian social and scribal interaction that probably occurred during the Babylonian exile. Evidence shows that there may well have been real historical contacts between the exiled Judaeans and the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests, constituting a mechanism for closing the temporal and spatial gaps for arguing the Mesopotamian influence, though this influence should not manifest as direct literary dependence. The chief social and theological motivation for the citizen-temple community to adopt insights from the Mesopotamian norms, ideas, and practices was its central concern for the authenticity, legitimacy, and primacy of the second temple cult and its identity making under the Babylonian-Persian oppressors. Babylonians and Jews shared this scribal-musical nexus in the Mesopotamian societies, and Jewish elites probably interacted with Mesopotamian scholar-singers. In this way, the temple as realised

³⁷⁴ Cf. Ackroyd, “Temple Vessels,” 170.

template and its associated music, already latent in Israelite traditions, would have been reinforced in order to articulate the significance of the second temple.

Carr writes, “Some scholars have posited that the Babylonian exile would have been a likely time for Judean contact with Babylonian textual traditions, but that thesis is not well-supported by the evidence surveyed so far.”³⁷⁵ Carr arrives at this conclusion because he cannot find direct traces of Jewish contact with Mesopotamian literary texts. Although I advance a picture in which the Babylonian influence on Jewish people was strong, this does not necessarily contradict Carr’s conclusion in terms of direct literary borrowing. The Jewish engagement with the Babylonian royal court did not necessarily mean that Jews could duplicate any written Babylonian traditions, and this may explain why Carr cannot find such direct traces. My picture could add nuance to our understanding of the influence of Mesopotamia insofar as the experience of the exile provided “a social, cultural and conceptual contact”³⁷⁶ that “points to a common social scholastic environment.”³⁷⁷ This circumstantial environment nourished an institutional description of singers and the ideological articulation of the second temple that were by no means marginal.

Carr also writes, “[T]he Hebrew Bible is a ‘Bible for exiles.’ Though it contains traditions that probably pre-dated the exile, along with other traditions that long post-date it, the collection as a whole is oriented toward the experience of the exile.”³⁷⁸ Ben Zvi also writes, “Neither the Hebrew Bible nor most of its books as we know them could have been written in or for a society that lacked the mentioned, central concept of the exile.”³⁷⁹ These statements match the centrality of “exile” in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. The Chronicler, as Williamson affirms, gives a very

³⁷⁵ Carr, *Formation*, 251.

³⁷⁶ Gabbay, “Akkadian Communitaries,” 311.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 312.

³⁷⁸ Carr, *Formation*, 226.

³⁷⁹ Ben Zvi, “What Is New,” 37.

strong exilic consciousness in his storyline as the typological pattern.³⁸⁰ Dyck also examines the relationship between the exile and the identity of the citizen-temple community³⁸¹ and concludes that

[T]he “exilic” identity of the community was maintained as the main criteria of membership in the citizen-temple community in the province of Judah. That is to say, the ethnic criteria which had served the purpose of maintaining identity in a minority situation in Babylon were transformed in the post-exilic setting and adapted for the purpose of establishing the social boundaries of, and social control over, the affairs in the *post-exilic* community which ultimately came to dominate the province of Judah.³⁸²

This suggests that the citizen-temple community (and the Chronicler) saw “exile” as one of the indispensable elements in the theological reflection that he inherited from the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the exile and the identity making process. This also echoes Gottwald’s statement:

If the enduring memory of events and their impact upon succeeding generations is the major criterion of historical importance, then there can be no doubt that the sequence of happenings from 597 to 538 B.C. were among the most fateful in all Hebrew-Jewish history.³⁸³

“Exile” bears a historical significance that was imprinted upon Jewish memory. Although we have no evidence to support the view that the Jewish engagement with the social condition of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers continued after the Persians took over the empire, the insights already obtained probably became an intrinsic element in the ongoing reflection on the exilic experience. This ongoing reflection of the exile would have affected (or “effected”, using Gadamer’s terminology) the hermeneutical situation of the Chronicler in historical continuum; “exile/return” and “identity making” were still the burning issues in his time.³⁸⁴

³⁸⁰ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 350.

³⁸¹ Dyck, *Theocratic*, 101–109.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 109. Italics his

³⁸³ Norman K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations*, SBT 14 (London: SCM, 1954), 19.

³⁸⁴ For Gadamer’s theoretical basis for this, see footnote 392.

As such, the Chronicler was probably not aware of the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical curriculum, the Neo-Assyrian scholar letters, the ritual texts of *kalû* and the Babylonian myths and epics, which were written between 200 and 1,500 years before his time and from which knowledge of scribal-musical professional norms and practices could be directly acquired. If the Chronicler wished to strengthen the authenticity of the second temple, he would have preferred to reinterpret the *intra-Jewish* traditions to build up the *Jewish* identity of his temple community, instead of copying the Mesopotamian literature; the production of Chronicles was probably independent from any specific Mesopotamian texts. The institutional and ideological parallels between the two cultures probably represent some shared norms and practices that were *culturally intensified* during and after the exile. This intensification did not need exact literary emulation but *simply* reaffirmed the temple as realised template and music, which were already latent in Jewish traditions.

Within the citizen-temple community, Jews frequently encountered challenges from their surroundings that would shake the authenticity of the second temple. They had to defend their identity as the true and pure descendants of Israel, in order to stabilise members inside the community and the political situation of the Jerusalem temple. As such, the ideas of the temple as realised template were probably reaffirmed in order to legitimise the significance of the temple. The temple as realised template was emphasised not only because of a reinterpretation of traditions but also because of the commonly prevailing temple-ideologies in wider Mesopotamian culture, which encouraged the Jews to rethink and reformulate their own temple in such a way as to address the challenges posed by their enemies.

Of course, in this complex environment, the citizen-temple community did not use the ideas related to the temple as realised template merely as political and social tools to legitimise their claims. Rather, they genuinely believed these ideas as

theological elements that conveyed an experience of YHWH in the midst of terror and trauma and magnified the imperial rule of YHWH in the whole world. Therefore, we can see a blending of social, political, and theological reasons for the reformulation of the temple in which the past exposure to the social condition of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers played a significant role.

The authors of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah would have favoured music and singers, because music in the Mesopotamian surroundings had been regarded as the highest level of scribal training as well as supporting the ideas of the temple as realised template. Ezra and his associated Levitical communities are the best literary examples, displaying how Jewish elites refashioned their professional profile to resemble the institutional modes of Mesopotamian scribal-musical education. As I shall show in Part II, this understanding of singers as scholars affects the characterisation of Levitical singers in Chronicles. The Jerusalem temple would have been believed to have a greater significance and enhanced effectiveness in fostering worldwide stability as an attempted result of the services of Israelite scholar-singers.

Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah also develop three themes of continuity – temple, singers, and vessels – as hallmarks of authenticity and authority. Singers (with their musical instruments) resorted to the ancient authority of David and claimed that even the exile had not harmed this continuity, which was based on the rulership of YHWH. I trust that this historical-comparative background can generate a meaningful evaluation on the characterisation of the Levitical singers in Chronicles in Part II.

Conclusion of Part I

In this part, I have explained the flourishing of music and singers in the literary depictions of the Levites from a historical-comparative perspective. Instead of reconstructing the diachronic development of the Jewish priesthood, I take seriously the wider circumstantial factors, explaining the Jewish engagement with the social condition of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and of *kalû*-priests that promoted the prominence of music and singers and the ideological reaffirmation of the temple as realised template.

In Part I, we have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Mesopotamian singers were in fact scholars who acquired a variety of professional skills such as reading, writing, prophesying, purifying, chanting, and ritual-performing. The service of *kalû*-priest, who was a kind of scholar-singer, gives the best example for understanding their educational, scribal, and liturgical roles in perpetuating lament-traditions and in ritual-performance. This multi-functional nature constituted the scribal-musical culture of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in the Neo-Babylonian period.
2. During the Babylonian exile, Jehoiachin and his elite professionals were probably subject to strong syncretism. They likely engaged in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, experiencing a scholarly social interaction. Evidence (e.g. the Weidner tablet and the prism of the Court of Nebuchadnezzar) shows that the social contact was historically probable, and the Jews were settled and at ease in Babylonia. This experience (or social condition) of the exile probably explains why the insights obtained from the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests would have strongly influenced the intra-Jewish reinterpretation of ancient Israelite traditions,

so that ideas, such as temple, world, and music, were reaffirmed to legitimise the formation of identity in the citizen-temple community.

3. The Jewish-Babylonian interaction did not mean that Jews could produce their literary creations through direct literary dependence on specific Mesopotamian traditions. This kind of direct literary contact was not supported by any textual evidence and was contradictory to the biblical texts, with their primary purpose of identity making within the citizen-temple community, and, as a corollary to this, probably constituting borrowings and reinterpretations of intra-Jewish traditions instead of foreign traditions. Therefore the institutional and ideological similarities between the two cultures, especially the literary depiction of scholar-singers, are best explained by a more general affinity. This affinity probably betrays the Jewish attempt to portray their singers as comparable to those Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests in order to increase the authenticity of the second temple cult.

From these three points we are able to conclude that the circumstantial factors in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture likely fostered the prominence of music and singers, affecting the hermeneutical situation of the citizen-temple community socio-ideologically, so that some intra-Jewish traditions (e.g. the temple as realised template and music) were reaffirmed in their literary productions for the purpose of legitimising the second temple cult. If we can assume this as a working hypothesis, what we read in Chronicles in Part II makes a lot of sense.

Part II: The Theological Significance of the Service of Levitical Singers in the Book of Chronicles

Introduction: Ideological Perspective

In this second part, I attempt to answer the second research question: what are the Chronicler's purposes in depicting the service of Levitical singers? I approach the question from the ideological perspective of the Chronicler in light of the Mesopotamian institutional and ideological insights (i.e. circumstantial factors) obtained from my analysis in Part I. I focus primarily on an inner-biblical exegesis that is sensitive to the Chronicler's metaphorical language.

I have already examined the ideological perspective of Ezra-Nehemiah (Section 3.2 in Part I) in characterising the Jewish professionals as socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers. Why have I postponed the methodological description of the ideological perspective of Chronicles to the introduction of Part II?

First, I have already clarified my interpretive perspectives (i.e. historical-comparative perspective and ideological perspective) in Chapter One (especially Section 1.2) and in the introduction of Part I. The clarification is supposed to be sufficient enough to avoid any misunderstanding when I examine Ezra-Nehemiah.

Second, I cannot explore the historical-comparative perspective without some preliminary examples of how the circumstantial influence of Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture gave rise to the ideological ideas in Ezra-Nehemiah. The examples are an indispensable part of the hypothesis, exemplifying the process of identity making, but they have yet to be independently, thoroughly developed in the discourses. It is thus sufficient and reasonable to provide some general,

well-understood assumptions, such as ideology and legitimation, in clarifying the examples. But a thorough examination of the music ideology of *Chronicles*, as I shall show, requires that we attempt a more complicated hermeneutical practice, and necessitates a clearer explanation of my interpretive angle.

Finally, Part II not only represents a turn of interpretive perspective but also of subject matter – the service of the Levitical singers *in Chronicles*. It is thus natural that I have postponed a detailed discussion of my interpretive angle in order to focus primarily on the second research question.

It must be noted that when we seek to uncover the Chronicler's purposes, we are indeed handling a literary production that is full of ideological notions arising from a particular culture. If we accept that the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture played a crucial role in the formation of these notions, then it would be entirely reasonable to incorporate the circumstantial factors (e.g. the prominence of scholar-singers and music) that have been examined in Part I into an examination of the Chronicler's purposes. Furthermore, it must be noted that there is a cognitive gap between the Chronicler's literary depiction of the Levitical singers (within the text) and the historical reality of the second temple singers (behind the text). What is described in *Chronicles* does not necessarily reflect the historical picture in Yehud. As stated earlier (Section 1.2), this study has put aside the problem of historicity in both first and second temples, and instead focuses primarily on the Chronicler's purposes from the historical-comparative (Part I) and ideological (Part II) perspectives. Therefore when I seek to advance in this direction, I undertake no attempt to bridge the gap but simply conduct an ideological-cultural examination.³⁸⁵

As many agree, the notions of the temple as realised template and music were

³⁸⁵ This does not mean that the Chronicler simply creates his story from his own imagination. For his historical truth-claims, see the next part of this introduction.

highly symbolic in nature.³⁸⁶ The ideological evaluation conducted here must inevitably involve an examination of the way in which the Chronicler employs the metaphor of the temple as realised template and the symbolic meaning of music. Since we are dealing with a literary production that is full of symbolic language, conveying ideas metaphorically and systematically, it is natural and proper to interpret the text symbolically. In other words, this study assumes that the Chronicler conveys one kind of thing by associating it with another symbolic referent. This symbolic referent, however, comes not from arbitrary assertion but from his cultural system of thought.

Biblical scholars have widely agreed with this metaphorical interpretation. Klawans contends, “the phenomenon of prophetic symbolic action demonstrates the *fact* that symbolic action was part of the culture of ancient Israel. This, in my view, is the most compelling argument that various aspects of the priestly cult (sacrifice included) ought to be understood as symbolic.”³⁸⁷ Indeed, as Jenson states, “symbols are usually not isolated or static, but form part of a complex symbol-system.”³⁸⁸ Gorman defines ritual as “a complex performance of symbolic acts, characterized by its formality, order, and sequence, which tends to take place in specific situations, and has one of its central goals the regulation of the social order.”³⁸⁹ He also provides a clear statement of the communicative aspect of ritual as a performance of symbolic acts, which enact and regulate the worldview and social order within the system of Jewish cosmology.³⁹⁰ There is thus little doubt that the ritual acts in Chronicles

³⁸⁶ This must have involved an examination of “Weltbild” with a symbolic quality. For a definition of “worldview” and “symbolisation”, see Bernd Janowski, “Das biblische Weltbild: Eine methodologische Skizze,” in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 4, 19.

³⁸⁷ Jonathan Klawans, “Methodology and Ideology in the Study of Priestly Ritual,” in *Perspectives on Purity and Purification in the Bible*, ed. Baruch J. Schwartz, LHB/OTS 474 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 90. Italics his

³⁸⁸ Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 62.

³⁸⁹ Frank H. Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual: Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology*, JSOTSS 91 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 19.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20–30.

should be interpreted symbolically. I regard it as my basic assumption in exploring the threefold aspect of Levitical singers (educational, scribal, liturgical), because these aspects also symbolically communicate the Jewish worldview.³⁹¹

This metaphorical interpretation should generally be consonant with the notion of “recontextualisation”: the Chronicler’s reappropriation of older traditions according to his frame of reference. If the Chronicler stands in a historical continuum with the temple as realised template in his mind, we should expect him to recontextualise the concept into the storyline according to his concern (whether social, political, or theological) over the second temple community.³⁹² As many agree, the Chronicler reformulates Israel’s past with the full spectrum of pre-Chronistic Jewish authoritative traditions available to him. Scholars thus are naturally inclined to perform an inner-biblical exegesis to uncover the Chronicler’s reinterpretation or recontextualisation of earlier traditions.³⁹³ Fishbane³⁹⁴ comprehensively elaborates the reinterpretation of the older traditions (*traditum*) in the formation of the later text (*traditio*). This method allows us to discover the process of the formation of some biblical texts and the ways in which various traditions were shaped and interpreted

³⁹¹ Most anthropologists believe metaphor as something inescapable in acts of communication and discourse, especially in a worldview of thought (e.g. temple as realised template), which should be understood as a systematic, experiential, and coherent system of concepts that are rooted in the intrinsic convention of communication. For this topic, see Leach, *Culture*; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Dan R. Stiver, *The Philosophy of Religious Language: Sign, Symbol, and Story* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996); Douglas, *Natural*. Although reading the text symbolically is a commonsense, I cautiously rely on the Chronicler’s speech and prayer to “decode” the symbolic meanings of rituals in order to avoid an uncontextual interpretation.

³⁹² Gadamer’s theory of “effective historical consciousness” and his concept of *Vorurteil* provide a theoretical basis for this: Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Garret Barden and John Cumming (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), 235–274.

³⁹³ Some inner-biblical exegetical works and the Chronicler’s principles of interpretation have been succinctly summarised by H.G.M. Williamson, “History,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF*, ed. D.A. Carson, Barnabas Lindars, and H.G.M. Williamson (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 25–38.

³⁹⁴ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*. Cf. D.A. Carson, Barnabas Lindars, and H.G.M. Williamson, eds., *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).

during the process of canonisation, though we cannot trace for certain in this topic. It also witnesses to the different strata of recontextualisation that were created by Israelite scribes, who transformed the *traditum* into a *traditio* that was relevant to their community of faith. However, the Chronicler's use of sources does not simply involve *verbatim* citation with some changes: he fluidly draws on precedent typology, analogy, metaphor, and idea.

This reinterpretation does not arise from an isolated situation; it is affected by the long-lived and systematic worldview of Jewish traditions, evidenced in both the priestly traditions and the Deuteronomistic convictions.³⁹⁵ As I shall show in Chapter Four, different pre-Chronistic traditions (e.g. Isa 6, Ezek 40-48) show their particular recontextualisation in their own setting, which also affected the hermeneutical situation of the Chronicler. Of course, the Chronicler had his own particular socio-ideological milieu for his distinctive recontextualisation. This milieu probably formulates the Chronicler's frame of reference in recontextualising earlier traditions. If we accept what has been argued in Part I, the wisdom derived from the institution and ideology of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers would have affected the Chronicler's choice of ideas from the full spectrum of pre-Chronistic Jewish traditions in his recontextualised depiction of the first temple and singers in the light of his exilic consciousness. His main socio-ideological reason for writing was to address the issue of Jewish identity in the second temple community. Reading the text with inner-biblical exegesis in mind is sensitive to this symbolic system; and a comparison with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers is particularly crucial in this exegesis.

Some works have been undertaken on the inner-biblical exegesis in Chronicles. Ackroyd reads Chronicles as a theological interpretation of Samuel-Kings.³⁹⁶ Shaver

³⁹⁵ Knoppers, "Hierodules," 49–72.

³⁹⁶ Ackroyd, *His Age*, 273–289, 311–343.

examines the Chronicler's interpretation of the Pentateuchal regulations on ritual practice.³⁹⁷ Willi examines at least nine exegetical categories by which the Chronicler interprets earlier traditions.³⁹⁸ Fishbane also elaborates his inner-biblical exegesis with Chronicles as one of his prime focuses in an investigation of the Chronicler's exegesis of the Pentateuchal legislation.³⁹⁹ These studies help us to understand how the Chronicler reinterprets earlier texts. Yet research into a contextual reading of Levitical singers in Chronicles with the circumstantial insights obtained in Part I (i.e. the institutional and ideological influence of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers) and symbolically sensitive inner-biblical exegesis focuses attention on some contextual aspects that have been ignored. The social interaction among the Mesopotamian scholar-singers would suggest new answers for exegetical problems encountered in the inner-biblical exegesis. I therefore combine the circumstantial insights (Part I) with an inner-biblical exegesis (Part II), focusing primarily on how the temple as realised template works within the Chronicler's conceptual logic, in order to comprehend the Chronicler's presentation of the Levitical singers.

The Chronicler's Historical Truth-Claims

While the practice of culturally sensitive inner-biblical exegesis would have accounted for the Chronicler's reaffirmation of intra-Jewish traditions, some may question whether the Chronicler's symbolic language is confined to ideological ideas without any historical referent. The Chronicler does however use sources in constructing his historical narrative, showing a kind of historical consciousness according to his own standard (albeit not according to modern academic standards). This suggests that his

³⁹⁷ Judson R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History: An Inquiry into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals and Cultic Institutions in Relation to Pentateuchal Legislation* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989).

³⁹⁸ Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik Als Auslegung*, FRLANT 106 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).

³⁹⁹ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 134–143, 151–159.

language probably points to a style concerned with being faithful adaptation of sources. The following points should draw our attention here:

1. Scholars have agreed that the Chronicler employs a version of Samuel-Kings as his *Vorlage*, though the version may not be reflected in MT.⁴⁰⁰ Lemke⁴⁰¹ and McKenzie⁴⁰² successfully show that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* is closer to 4QSam^a than to MT, suggesting that the difference between MT-Chronicles and MT-Samuel may not come from any tendentious move on the Chronicler's part, but from his employing a different *Vorlage*. The Chronicler also follows the general chronological framework of Samuel-Kings.⁴⁰³ Therefore, the Chronicler is more faithful to his sources than is sometimes supposed.
2. Klein⁴⁰⁴ and Curtis and Madsen⁴⁰⁵ give several tables, showing the biblical sources employed by the Chronicler. These sources include the Pentateuch, Psalms 105, 96, 106, the book of Joshua, Ezra-Nehemiah,⁴⁰⁶ and other prophetic writings. Although the version of these sources may not be reflected in MT, this does show that the Chronicler prefers to write his work by drawing on sources, rather than by relying simply on his own imagination.
3. When we see how the Chronicler selects, reworks, and reframes his biblical sources, we can suggest that he probably uses similar approaches in respect of other sources which are no longer available to us. The Chronicler claims on many occasions that he uses sources such as annals (e.g. 2Chr 16:11; 20:34; 24:37; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 32:32; 33:18; 35:27; 36:8) and prophetic writings (e.g. 1Chr

⁴⁰⁰ See footnote 4.

⁴⁰¹ Lemke, "Synoptic Problem," 349–363.

⁴⁰² McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 33–73.

⁴⁰³ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 16–17.

⁴⁰⁴ Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 32–39.

⁴⁰⁵ Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 17–19.

⁴⁰⁶ E.g., The list in 1Chr 9 would have been adapted from Neh 11:11–19. The edict of Cyrus (2Chr 36:22–23) would have been adapted from Ezra 1:1–4 (cf. footnote 2). Schaper convincingly shows the authenticity of the edict: Schaper, *Priester*, 67–75. This gives an example of how the Chronicler employs a source that could refer to a historically probable event.

29:29; 2Chr 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 20:34; 26:22; 32:32; 33:19). Although scholars have not reached agreement about whether these extra-biblical sources exist or not,⁴⁰⁷ the Chronicler obviously stands within the tradition of interpretation, shaping his hermeneutical situation. This repeated reference to sources imitates the source citation claims in Samuel-Kings on the one hand,⁴⁰⁸ and enhances his claims of authority and continuity on the other, pointing to the significance of the written sources for the audience of Chronicles.

4. The selection, omission, rearrangement, and reworking of sources suggest that the Chronicler behaves like a historian, who “shows himself as the master, not the servant, of his sources.”⁴⁰⁹ Many scholars agree that the term “historian” can be used to describe the Chronicler,⁴¹⁰ though not in the modern academic sense of the word, but rather according to the standards acceptable in his own days.
5. The problems of historical reliability and of the Chronicler’s source should be approached in their own rights. The existence of sources does not automatically secure reliability. Whether those sources can be reconstructed, and safely used as historical evidence, is something which needs to be cautiously and critically assessed on a case-by-case basis.⁴¹¹ The use of sources, however, provides a

⁴⁰⁷ One extreme view is from Noth, who thinks that the citation formulae is simply a literary convention: Martin Noth, *The Chronicler’s History*, trans. H.G.M. Williamson, JSOTSS 50 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 53. Another extreme view is from Rainey, who reconstructs the source called “Chronicles of the Kings of Judah”: A.F. Rainey, “The Chronicler and His Sources - Historical and Geographical,” in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 238 (Sheffield, Eng: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 30–72. In between the two polar views, scholars have differed in many details such as the issues of *midrash* (2Chr 13:22; 24:27), and the prophetic references: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 40–43; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 17–19; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 19–23. For a recent survey: Katherine M. Stott, *Why Did They Write This Way? Reflections on References to Written Documents in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Literature*, LHB 492 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 60–64.

⁴⁰⁸ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 18. Cf. John Van Seters, “Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible,” *SR* 29 (2000): 395–408.

⁴⁰⁹ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 23.

⁴¹⁰ See the collection of essays: Matt Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, eds., *The Chronicler as Historian*, JSOTSS 238 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997).

⁴¹¹ The problem of historical reality of Chronicles has been an unsettled issue since the 19th century, and is likely to remain so. See further Kai Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of*

kind of “historical referent”, pointing at the very least to the Chronicler’s own understanding that the events he refers to are real, and occurred in real time in actual places.

Based on the above considerations, we can suggest that the inner-biblical exegesis conducted here should not give us an impression that the Chronicler configures his ideological ideas without historical referent through the use of sources. Writing a work based only on ideological invention is not typical of his time.⁴¹² Although his choices of intra-Jewish traditions were influenced by the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture and the second temple community, this does not necessarily mean that the characterisation of singers and temple in Chronicles contain no historical value. This further coincides with the overall argument that the Chronicler “reaffirms”, rather than “creates”, the language of temple as realised template and the place of music in the temple service. Furthermore, these things he describes were written according to the standards of narrative history accepted in his day.

The Citizen-Temple Community and the Dating of Chronicles

In this section, I further clarify why the citizen-temple community and Chronicles are virtually related. It involves the dating of Chronicles and the relationship between Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.

Chronicles in Pre-critical and Critical Research (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Matt Patrick Graham, *The Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles in the Reconstruction of Israelite History in the Nineteenth Century* (Atlanta Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990); Japhet, “Historical Reliability,” 83–107. Especially, Japhet writes, “although the interest in Chronicles has certainly broadened and become much more varied, with the question of the historical reliability no longer occupying the centre of discussion, yet the feeling of many scholars that a certain consensus has been reached, albeit with slight variations, is far from justified”: Ibid., 99.

⁴¹² Recently, scholars have compared the source-referencing practice of the Chronicler with that of classical historians, and have confirmed that the Chronicler writes history according to the accepted norms of his time: Kenneth G. Hoglund, “The Chronicler as Historian: A Comparativist Perspective,” in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 238 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997), 19–29; Stott, *Why*, 60–67. They “could quote from, rephrase, elaborate upon, abridge, and imitate older texts”: Ibid., 67.

Although scholars have generally reached a consensus on the separate authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles,⁴¹³ Knoppers addresses some neglected thematic similarities between them:

[O]ne should not lose sight of the fundamental postulates all three books share about matters such as the primacy of Jerusalem, the exclusive status of the Jerusalem Temple, the importance of supporting the priests and Levites, and the critical role that Judah, Levi, and Benjamin have in upholding the legacy of ancient Israel.⁴¹⁴

Knoppers locates several parallels between the Chronicler's history of monarchic Israel and the early history of the return in Ezra, in which the first temple in Chronicles is presented in a similar literary pattern to the depiction of the second temple in Ezra. These include the provisions to Hiram of Tyre and the Tyrians and the Sidonians (2Chr 2:7-15; Ezra 3:7), David's authority in organising Levitical singers, the common descriptions of Levitical singers and priestly trumpeters, and the similarity between the inaugurations of the first and second temples.⁴¹⁵ De Vries contends that these similarities stem from "the jointly shared literary and cultural complex of the early postexilic period".⁴¹⁶ But they cannot, I think, be explained simply by resorting to a "shared literary and cultural complex", especially in the case of the thematic similarities regarding the temple and singers. Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah share the central theological heritages of the Jerusalem temple (the temple as realised template) and its associated musical cult, though their separate authorship has to be taken into account.

The inauguration of the temple is *the* central theme of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah; there is, therefore, likely to be more "lying behind" the text than merely a reinterpretation of biblical traditions. It is thus understandable that these

⁴¹³ See footnote 2.

⁴¹⁴ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 89.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 77–80.

⁴¹⁶ Simon J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, FOTL 11 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 8.

literary productions are related to the great interest of the citizen-temple community when they reinaugurated an “authentic” second temple cult. Therefore, the notion “the citizen-temple community” is probably useful for articulating at least the primary readership of the Chronicler.⁴¹⁷ The primary readership was supposed to be aware of the language and could sense the intention of the Chronicler, who skilfully conveyed meanings by his special choices of words and expressions. The question remains on whether Chronicles can be dated in this period.

There has been a growing tendency to date Chronicles between 350 and 300 BCE or even to the third century BCE. The absolute *terminus a quo* is Cyrus’ decree in 538 BCE represented in 2Chr 36:22-23. The *terminus ante quem* is the recitation of Chronicles in some Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic works (e.g. Ben Sira) in the second century BCE. Some scholars give an early date (e.g. 515 BCE) of Chronicles,⁴¹⁸ but this requires a substantial portion of Chronicles (e.g. 1Chr 1-9) to be assigned to secondary additions, which seems improbable to me.

As for internal evidence, 1Chr 29:7 refers to “darics”, a Persian coin that was first issued in the reign of Darius I (522-486 BCE), and this probably reflects a date in the latter half of the fifth century BCE, if we allow a time for this coin to circulate. 2Chr 8:3-4 indicates the association of Tadmor and Hamat-Zobah, which probably reflects the provincial administration of the Babylonian-Persian system. 2Chr 16:9 seems to cite Zech 4:10, reflecting the ministry of Zechariah at the end of the sixth century BCE. 1Chr 3:17-24 shows a genealogy of Jehoiachin, which may give a dating around 350 BCE.

As for external evidence, many references to “the law of Moses” or “the command of Moses” (e.g. 1Chr 6:34; 15:15; 22:13; 2Chr 8:13; 25:4; 30:16) in

⁴¹⁷ Cf. footnote 231.

⁴¹⁸ D.N. Freedman, “The Chronicler’s Purpose,” *CBQ* 23 (1961): 441.

Chronicles probably indicates that an authorised written version of the Pentateuch took shape during the Chronicler's time after Ezra's teaching of the *Torah* (Neh 8:1-8).⁴¹⁹ We also need to allow for many allusions to prophetic literature (e.g. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah) in Chronicles, which probably indicate that these works had an authoritative status of these works during the Chronicler's time. Scholars have generally agreed that there is no Hellenistic influence in Chronicles, suggesting a date no later than 333 BCE.⁴²⁰ Taken together, the above criteria provide a preliminary dating in the mid-fourth century BCE.

In his excellent survey on the dating of Chronicles, Peltonen draws our attention to the significance of socio-ideological approaches.⁴²¹ He reviews the sociological reconstructions of Albertz and Weinberg. Albertz advances the idea of the Samaritan conflict as the ideological background behind Chronicles in the Jerusalem community and dates Chronicles in the late Persian or early Hellenistic period.⁴²² Weinberg situates Chronicles in the social setting of the citizen-temple community in the pre-Hellenistic culture.⁴²³ He sees that the real *Sitz im Leben* of Chronicles belongs to a non-exiled group of scribes (the Judean descendants of Jabez specifically) within the citizen-temple community.⁴²⁴ This gives an earlier date (440-430 BCE⁴²⁵) for

⁴¹⁹ Scholars have reached no consensus on the chronological order of Ezra and Nehemiah, probably because of many historical gaps, the complex textual growth of Ezra-Nehemiah, and the unsettled issue of how the date of Ezra fits to the general development of priests and Levites. For this topic, see Lester L. Grabbe, "What Was Ezra's Mission?," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, Tamara C. Eskenazi, and Kent Harold Richards, vol. 2, JSOTSS 175 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 286–299; Lester L. Grabbe, "Reconstructing History from the Book of Ezra," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 98–106; Pakkala, *Ezra*; David Janzen, "The 'Mission' of Ezra and the Persian-Period Temple Community," *JBL* 119 (2000): 619–643.

⁴²⁰ Kai Peltonen, "A Jigsaw Without a Model? The Date of Chronicles," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSS 317 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2001), 238; Williamson, *Israel*, 83.

⁴²¹ Peltonen, "Jigsaw," 239–261.

⁴²² Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period*, trans. John Bowden, vol. 2 (London: SCM, 1994), 544–556.

⁴²³ Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*.

⁴²⁴ Joel Weinberg, *Der Chronist in seiner Mitwelt* (New York; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 277–290.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 282.

Chronicles. Since Williamson has convincingly argued that the anti-Samaritan spirit of the Chronicler is flawed,⁴²⁶ Weinberg's proposal of the citizen-temple community, if not his *Sitz im Leben* of Chronicles as Jabez's descendants, seems more attractive.

I have shown, and will continue to show, that the experience of the exile and the socio-ideological milieu of the citizen-temple community affect the depiction of Levitical singers in Chronicles. If my thesis is correct, this may demand a dating just after (or alongside) Ezra-Nehemiah, in which the reinauguration of an authentic temple cult and the experience of the exile still dominated the central concerns of the Jerusalem community. Grabbe, in rejecting the HB as a "Hellenistic book", writes,

The Judaeen deportations in the early sixth century and the destruction of Jerusalem about 587 BCE were traumatic events. People often become aware of their traditions when there are major disruptions, when their heritage and even their identity might be lost. It seems unlikely, *prima facie*, that no attempt to gather the traditions or create a national or ethnic 'history' would have been made. Given the fact that such a literature was created and we therefore need to find a context for it, the Persian period is a better candidate on the face of it than the Hellenistic.⁴²⁷

Therefore, a dating of Chronicles that reflects a social context in which the burning issues were those of "exile" and "return" seems reasonable. The only obstacle is Jehoiachin's genealogy (1Chr 3:17-24), which displays at least six generations after Zerubbabel. Wright observes that David's reign and the exile (Jehoiachin the captive in 1Chr 3:17) are the two events anchored in the relative chronology of Chronicles. The subsequent names (1Chr 3:18-24) seem to provide no absolute point for ending the chronological sequence.⁴²⁸ MT provides a division marker at the end of 1Chr 3:21, which may indicate an earlier ending. It may thus reflect that the list of names

⁴²⁶ Williamson, "Temple," 150–161.

⁴²⁷ Lester L. Grabbe, "Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSS 317 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2001), 152–153.

⁴²⁸ John W. Wright, "The Fabula of the Book of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 146–147.

was updated during the transmission of Chronicles by scribes, because updating the list of David's descendants may be of great interest to these Jewish scribes, given that the figure of David is central in Chronicles. With such a possibility in view, we have a *prima facie* justification for a possible dating of Chronicles at around the late fifth century BCE.⁴²⁹

After considering some methodological issues, we now refocus our attention on the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in educational (Chapter Five), scribal (Chapter Six), and liturgical (Chapter Seven) contexts, and read them in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers' norms and practices. I take the Chronicler's temple as the point of departure (Chapter Four) to approach the subject matter, to which I now turn.

⁴²⁹ Or the early fourth century if the mission of Ezra is dated in 398 BCE.

4. Temple as Realised Template as a Pre-understanding of the Chronicler

Williamson writes, “One of the few points about which all commentators on Chronicles are agreed is that the temple was of central significance to its author.”⁴³⁰ Since the service of musicians was undoubtedly an integral part of the Chronicler’s temple, a reading of his portrayal of the temple will furnish a context in which to discuss their role.

Jewish people did not view the temple merely as a physical entity but related it to a wider metaphorical frame of reference of the temple as realised template. This concept arose among the returnees, who organised themselves into the citizen-temple community, and it is reflected in their theological convictions, literary activities, and use of language. I argue in this chapter that the temple as realised template was one of the integral pre-understandings of this community of readership in respect to the creation of Chronicles.

First, I argue from a historical-cultural viewpoint (i.e. wider circumstantial factors in the Persian period) that the pre-Hellenistic culture of the Persian Empire fostered the rethinking of YHWH as the imperial God, ruling the whole world. This acts as a bridge from Part I to Part II, in which the thesis shifts from a historical-comparative dimension to a literary dimension. Second, I argue from a viewpoint of the Chronicler’s use of words that he contextualises the concept of the temple as realised template within his storyline. Finally, I argue from a thematic point of view that the Chronicler’s pre-understanding of the concept is reflected in his description of the temple in 1Chr 21:1-22:1; 28:11-19; 2Chr 3:1-5:1. This discussion will provide a theological frame of reference for understanding the theological

⁴³⁰ Williamson, “Temple,” 150.

significance of Levitical singers in subsequent chapters.

4.1. The Citizen-Temple Community in the Pre-Hellenistic Culture

Weinberg develops an influential model called “the citizen-temple community” to describe a prevailing local structure in the Persian Empire. He acknowledges the emergence of this structure in Yehud by situating the discussion in the wider culture of “pre-Hellenism”,⁴³¹ in which a similar structure was a widespread phenomenon (cf. Section 3.1.4).⁴³² This study does not intend to amend or refute any part of the model.⁴³³ Rather, I briefly illustrate several factors that characterise pre-Hellenism and how this cultural milieu had an impact on the citizen-temple community.

First, the development of so-called “world empires”, such as the Persian Empire required local institutions under systems of satrapies to support central administration. Since it was unfeasible to maintain a highly centralised government in such a vast empire, the Persians allowed local administrative autonomy. This meant that local scribes became increasingly prominent in self-government.⁴³⁴ Local languages were unaffected; royal decrees were translated into local languages alongside Old Persian, though Aramaic was widely used.⁴³⁵ This multilingual mode of administration added to the role of scribes as the backbone of localised Persian administration.

In Yehud, Levites, learned persons in literacy and cultic matters, naturally took up both secular and religious scribal-administrative roles.⁴³⁶ In Chronicles, they were scribes (1Chr 24:6), singers (1Chr 25), gatekeepers (1Chr 26:1-19), and administrators (1Chr 26:20-32). This multi-functional profile may reflect the scribal prominence of

⁴³¹ Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 17–33.

⁴³² Blenkinsopp, “Temple and Society,” 26–34.

⁴³³ See footnote 231.

⁴³⁴ Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 20.

⁴³⁵ Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East*, 2:649–650; Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 55.

⁴³⁶ Grabbe, *Yehud*, 151–155; Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 132–133; Labahn, “Antitheocratic,” 115–135.

the Levites. This study, however, does not trace the emergence or decline of any specific Levitical group but rather explores how some circumstantial factors (e.g. Persian administration) fostered the prominence of their scribal aspect.

Second, the increase in collective migrations helped different ethnic groups to mix so that exchanges of cultural treasures and practices became common and were intensified.⁴³⁷ As shown in Chapter Three, the deportation of Jehoiachin and his officials fostered intensive cultural interaction in the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. The return(s) of their descendants probably brought contextualised wisdom and practice from Babylon to Jerusalem to contribute the citizen-temple community.

However, it must be noted that the citizen-temple community saw themselves as the only authentic community, having perpetuated pre-exilic traditions and worship. This made them more inclined to reinterpret and borrow intra-Jewish traditions in their literary works than to directly borrow traditions from Mesopotamian literature. This intra-Jewish reflection and reinterpretation of traditions was, nevertheless, also open to insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context (because of a deep exilic consciousness), reaffirming what had already been latent in the intra-Jewish traditions, such as the temple as realised template and music. The chief motivation for this textual openness was to promote the primacy of the Jerusalem temple. This cultural intensification generally matches the increase in collective migrations (whether forced or voluntary) that was peculiar to this cultural environment.

Moreover, Gerstenberger writes,

The Persian Empire did not fall out of the blue by accident. It built upon the preceding empires that existed since the third millennium B.C.E. in Mesopotamia ... The concept of an empire developed interculturally in the gradually developing major societies in the ebb and flow of history. Probably since the third millennium, the empire belonged to the collective existence of

⁴³⁷ Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 22.

Near Eastern concepts of the world.⁴³⁸

Weisberg also thinks that the term “Neo-Babylonian” can be used to designate a period that extended to at least the early Achaemenid kings based on an examination of legal documents.⁴³⁹ As such, the Persian Empire succeeded to the existing Neo-Babylonian cultural framework, so that Jews did not experience a very different culture during the Persian period. This Babylonian-Persian continuity probably reflects the Persian policy of religious tolerance, in which the Persians did not significantly interfere with the local religions that remained from the preceding empire. For example, the Cyrus Cylinder, a tendentious document promoting Cyrus’ zeal for Marduk cult in order to legitimise his replacement of Nabonidus, indicates the Persian policy of toleration for established cults (cf. Ezra 1:1-4; 6:3-12).⁴⁴⁰ This policy of supporting, or at least not oppressing, local cults added to the autonomy of local shrines, which could elaborate their own version of the temple as realised template.⁴⁴¹

In respect to the temple in Yehud, as a temple that claimed its own ideological significance, it would have been interested in reformulating YHWH as the imperial, worldwide God with a temple that bore a theological significance on a par with other temples claiming universal significance. This probably fostered and intensified the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection of the temple as realised template and characterised the theological pre-understanding of the Chronicler.

Third, the experience of Jewish diaspora in Babylonia radically changed theological thinking among Jews. By expounding some YHWH-kingship psalms (Pss 47; 93; 95-100), Gerstenberger argues that the milieu of Babylonian-Persian

⁴³⁸ Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 46. Refer also to footnote 83.

⁴³⁹ David B. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia*, YNER 1 (New Haven: YUP, 1967), 30–31.

⁴⁴⁰ Alberty, *Israel in Exile*, 114–116. Cf. Amélie Kuhrt, “The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy,” *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83–97; Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 110–115; Berquist, *Judaism*, 24–29.

⁴⁴¹ The Persian policy of tolerance in numerous local shrines was a widespread phenomenon: Blenkinsopp, “Temple and Society,” 24–26. Also Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 59.

provenance and the experience of the diaspora fostered the development of YHWH as the universal, global, and imperial God.⁴⁴² He also demonstrates that the practice of pilgrimages towards Jerusalem would have arisen from the claim of Jerusalem to be YHWH's only dwelling place in the Persian period.⁴⁴³ Part of Gerstenberger's brilliance resides in his explanation of the Persian milieu in relation to the development of the Psalter. But he also tries to locate the meaningfulness of different psalms in what he calls a "confessional community"⁴⁴⁴ that expressed the claim of one sole God in editing and collecting various psalms. He also accepts a pre-exilic setting for some psalms but redescribes them in terms of a linear evolution in which the trajectory of thought is assumed to move from the circle of familial clans, to that of village, tribe, and monarchy, culminating in the Persian confessional community.⁴⁴⁵

As such, I have two difficulties with Gerstenberger's proposal. First, the notion of the confessional community is simply anachronistic. Judaism, even in the first century CE, "had no body of articulated and systematized doctrine."⁴⁴⁶ In Gerstenberger's description of the confessional community, which stems from German Protestant scholarship, his affirmation of its "confession" of one imperial God misleads his readers into thinking that we could find systematic doctrines in the citizen-temple community.

Second, Gerstenberger places his evidence into a preconceived, linear evolutionary scheme. This also misleads his readers into thinking that we can

⁴⁴² Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 224–225.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, 221–223. See also Melody D. Knowles, *Centrality Practiced Jerusalem in the Religious Practice of Yehud and the Diaspora in the Persian Period*, SBLABS 16 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 77–103.

⁴⁴⁴ Gerstenberger defines "confession" as taking "on a firm position in a clearly defined community; it denotes acknowledging the particular God as one's personal patron": Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 250.

⁴⁴⁵ Erhard S. Gerstenberger, "The Psalms: Genres, Life Situations, and Theologies – Towards a Hermeneutics of Social Stratification," in *Diachronic and Synchronic: Reading the Psalms in Real Time: Proceedings of the Baylor Symposium on the Book of Psalms*, ed. Joel S. Burnett, W.H. Bellinger, and W. Dennis Tucker, LHB/OTS 488 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 81–92; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Theologies in the Old Testament*, trans. John Bowden (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).

⁴⁴⁶ George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass: HUP, 1927), 357.

confidently delineate different stages of development. For instance, Isaiah's vision of a divine, royal throne (Isa 6) has been generally accepted as part of an "Isaiah Memoir" that can be traced back to the eighth century prophet's experience.⁴⁴⁷ The well-developed imagery of a God-king figure includes a global perspective that is latent in the proclamation of seraphim when they say, "the whole earth () is full of his glory" (Isa 6:3b). Thus the concept of the global relevance of YHWH was not a new evolution in the post-exilic community but was partly indebted to a pre-exilic concept of God, at least in some Isaianic traditions.⁴⁴⁸ The boundaries between stages of evolution are thus uncertain. We could use the term "recontextualisation" instead of "evolution", in order to remove the biased emphasis on linear evolution.⁴⁴⁹

The Neo-Babylonian and Persian global empires radically affected the thinking of Jewish scribes, such that they painstakingly recontextualised earlier intra-Jewish traditions into something to suit their contemporary needs. I generally agree with Gerstenberger that the peculiar Persian socio-political environment fostered the radical recontextualisation of earlier Jewish traditions. However, this development should not be understood as an evolutionary stage but as a particular recontextualisation of earlier traditions in the particular milieu of the citizen-temple community.

Finally, this conception of an exclusive, universal God is evidenced by the generic title "God of heaven" (),⁴⁵⁰ which was used in the Persian period to

⁴⁴⁷ Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 30; Joseph Jensen, *The Use of Tôrâ by Isaiah: His Debate with the Wisdom Tradition*, CBQMS 3 (Washington, D.C: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1973), 107–109.

⁴⁴⁸ Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 30–93.

⁴⁴⁹ For cogent critiques of the evolutionary scheme, see Douglas, *Leviticus*, 13–33; Klawans, *Purity*, 4–48.

⁴⁵⁰ Gen 24:3, 7; 2Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2; Neh 1:4–5; 2:4, 20; Jon 1:9; Ps 136:26. Its Aramaic equivalent appears in Dan 2:18, 19, 37, 44; Ezra 5:11, 12; 6:9, 10; 7:12, 21, 23. For a cogent evaluation, see D.K. Andrews, "Yahweh the God of the Heavens," in *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of T.J. Meek*, ed. W. Stewart McCullough (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 45–57.

identify YHWH, as reflected in some Aramaic papyri in Elephantine.⁴⁵¹ Bolin proposes that the Jewish garrison in Elephantine may have used this title to gain support from other satrapies and the Persians.⁴⁵² There is, however, no evidence that the Persians used this title to identify their god Ahuramazda.⁴⁵³ It is thus unlikely that Jews altered the title of YHWH to imitate the title of Ahuramazda.⁴⁵⁴

Though there is no evidence that this title was used in Persian religious circles, this does not mean that they did not use it to describe other deities. Various royal decrees from the Persian kings (e.g. 2Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2; 7:12, 21) used this title to identify YHWH; the name “YHWH” was used together with “God of heaven” without embarrassment. It is more likely that “God of heaven” designated a more general concept of God among different peoples in the Persian Empire (e.g. Jon 1:9-10; Dan 2:18).⁴⁵⁵ Jews had no difficulty in identifying YHWH as the God of heaven, not only because it agreed with their monotheistic belief but also because they believed their God truly was the maker of heaven and earth (e.g. 2Chr 2:11; Ps 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6).⁴⁵⁶ Therefore, the generic title “God of heaven” would have given a theological influence to Jewish scribal circles as they reformulated their understanding of YHWH as an imperial and global God. As I shall show, the Chronicler configures this understanding of YHWH at the closure of Chronicles in order to designate the Persian king, Cyrus, as the one who fostered the worldwide order through his support for the Jews in rebuilding the second temple.

⁴⁵¹ AP, no. 30, 31, 32, 38, 40.

⁴⁵² Thomas M. Bolin, “The temple of at Elephantine and Persian Religious Policy,” in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaism*, ed. Diana Vikander Edelman (Kampen: Pharos, 1995), 127–142.

⁴⁵³ The Persians identified Ahuramazda as “Lord of Wisdom”: Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 48.

⁴⁵⁴ Grabbe, *Yehud*, 242.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Steven Shawn Tuell, *The Law of the Temple in Ezekiel 40-48* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1992), 98–101.

⁴⁵⁶ Crow suggests that the term “maker of heaven and earth” stems from a post-exilic Jerusalemite redaction of “the Songs of Ascents” (Ps 120-134): Loren D. Crow, *The Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120-134): Their Place in Israelite History and Religion*, SBLDS 148 (Atlanta: SBL, 1996), 138. Cf. Japhet, *Ideology*, 20–21.

In summary, the Levitical scribal prominence, the ongoing intra-Jewish reflections on the temple as realised template, the global conception of YHWH, and the generic title, God of heaven, all affected the theological pre-understandings of the citizen-temple community and of the Chronicler in the Persian period. The temple as realised template recurs in many allusions in, for example, the Psalter, Isaiah 6, and Ezekiel 40-48. I believe that the Chronicler reaffirms the temple as realised template, because (1) it was common in the temple ideologies of the Babylonian-Persian cultures, in which everyone perceived their temples as meeting places between heaven and earth; (2) it required a global concept of a heavenly imperial God (e.g. Isa 6 and Ezek 1); (3) and the experience of the exile fostered a radical theological understanding of YHWH's presence as transcending political boundaries (e.g. Ezek 8-11). Based on these three factors and the preceding discussion, we have a *prima facie* justification from a historical-cultural viewpoint to argue that the Chronicler inherited the temple as realised template from the theological setting of the citizen-temple community.

4.2. Temple as Realised Template as the Pre-Understanding of the Chronicler

In Section 4.2, two premises in the temple as realised template are to be considered: (1) the link between heaven and earth, and (2) the global government of God in bringing worldwide significance. First, I examine the use of words and expressions related to the concept within the text of Chronicles. Second, I briefly survey Isa 6 (and 1Kgs 22:19-22) and Ezek 40-48 to show the ongoing intra-Jewish recontextualisation of the two premises in pre-Chronistic works. I shall postpone the examination of the third premise (i.e. the earthly temple as the counterpart of the heavenly temple) in Section 4.3.2.

4.2.1. The Expressions of the Temple as Realised Template in Chronicles

The temple as realised template includes a set of premises that can be generalised as being concerned with the connection between heaven and earth in the context of the origins, inauguration, and ritual function of the temple. This connection is likely to imply the basic premises that I define at Section 1.1. I shall show that this concept is evidenced by the use of words and expressions within Chronicles.

Evidence for the use of words and expressions related to the temple as realised template will be marked by a few criteria: (1) the juxtaposition of the words “heaven” () and “earth” () in a discourse; (2) a depiction that shows traffic between heaven and earth, signified by the term “from heaven” (or); and (3) the use of words and expressions must be in the context of the temple.⁴⁵⁷ I shall also compare the use of these words in Samuel-Kings, in order to show the difference and verify the Chronicler’s uniqueness.

4.2.1.1. *The Juxtaposition of and*

The juxtaposition of and in Chronicles can be found in 1Chr 16:31; 21:16; 29:11; 2Chr 2:11; 6:14, 18; 7:14; 36:23 (eight times), while that in Samuel-Kings can be found in 2Sam 18:9; 22:8; 1Kgs 8:23, 27; 2Kgs 19:15 (five times). Among the occurrences in Chronicles, one is borrowed from a psalm (1Chr 16:31), two are borrowed from Kings (2Chr 6:14, 18//1Kgs 8:23, 27), one is probably borrowed from the Chronicler’s Samuel-*Vorlage* close to 4QSam^a (1Chr 21:16),⁴⁵⁸ and the rest are

⁴⁵⁷ Krüger prefers to call these criteria as “kosmologische Formel”: Annette Krüger, “Himmel-Erde-Unterwelt: Kosmologische Entwürfe in der poetischen Literatur Israels,” in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Krüger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 65. But the use of the term “formula” seems too mechanical and rigid.

⁴⁵⁸ See footnote 509.

the Chronicler's *Sondergut*.⁴⁵⁹

All occurrences concern a connection between the two realms. 1Chr 16:31 shows a parallelism in which both heaven and earth rejoice and proclaim the global kingship of YHWH, a central idea in the temple as realised template, which requires a worldwide divine kingship. 1Chr 21:16 shows an angel standing (or mediating) between earth and heaven, preparing a way for the origins of the temple (1Chr 22:1). 1Chr 29:11 depicts David's prayer, proclaiming YHWH's ownership of heaven and earth in preparing the temple building. 2Chr 2:11 describes Hiram's praise, proclaiming YHWH who makes heaven and earth and who gives David a wise son for building the temple. 2Chr 6:14, 18 (//1Kgs 8:23, 27) belongs to a part of Solomon's prayer in inaugurating the temple. The Chronicler borrows almost the entire prayer, demonstrating a concern for the connection between the two realms. 2Chr 7:14 depicts YHWH's response to Solomon's prayer, and this verse is pivotal verse to our understanding of the Chronicler's concept of retribution in terms of the temple's role in the coherence between heaven and earth. 2Chr 36:23 shows that YHWH is "God of heaven" () who gave "all the kingdoms of the earth" () to Cyrus. The phrase "all the kingdoms of the nations" () in 2Chr 20:6 may be emended to "all the kingdoms of the earth" (), as reflected in one medieval manuscript. Though MT is to be preferred in this case, both readings reveal the temple as realised template because "nations" can be assumed to mean "nations on earth".

All occurrences show that YHWH controlled and governed the fortune of the whole world, and this government was closely related to the temple. Some might think that the juxtaposition is too general to affirm the existence of the Chronicler's temple

⁴⁵⁹ The term *Sondergut* focuses on the Chronicler's non-synoptic portion of his own material. For a definition, see Pancratius Cornelis Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 6–7.

as realised template. But if we understand this juxtaposition not merely in terms of their meaning in lexical entities but also in terms of their literary context, the arrangement of paragraphs and sentences that surround this juxtaposition probably show the presence of the temple as realised template in the context of the temple cult.

The occurrence in 2Chr 36:23 deserves further comment because it stands at the close of Chronicles. Concerning this closure, Ben Zvi writes,

The main body of the book [Chronicles], and the book as whole, concludes with Cyrus, a foreign, non-Davidic king who orders the rebuilding of the temple in his first year ... Thus the text moves from negatively portrayed pre-Davidic to positively portrayed post-Davidic times. The Saulide failed experiment led to the ascendance of David, and eventually to the climax of the book in David's provisions for the building of the temple (1 Chronicles 22-29); monarchic Judah led to the eventual destruction of the temple, which, in turn, led to Cyrus. As the readers read the book, they move from the process that culminated in the building of the temple to that leading to its rebuilding.⁴⁶⁰

The conclusion thus retells the whole narrative and directs our exploration of the Chronicler's thought. For Ben Zvi, Chronicles is a well-accepted narrative that is read and reread, such that its introductions and conclusions become the interpretative keys to an exploration of the intended readership of Chronicles,⁴⁶¹ if we believe that Chronicles is a purposeful and structured piece of work.

The (re)building of the temple should then occupy the focus and orientation of Chronicles as a whole. Cyrus' sponsorship of rebuilding the second temple imitated "David's foundational activities"⁴⁶² of preparing the building of the first temple and "created a pattern against which the establishment, organization and ritual of the second temple – the temple of the intended and primary readership – was to be understood and evaluated."⁴⁶³ This means that the Chronicler attempts to direct his

⁴⁶⁰ Ben Zvi, *History*, 29.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.* Cf. Riley, *King and Cultus*, 154–155.

readership to this pattern of Davidic temple (re)building through this ending. The question remains on whether the orientation of the conclusion reflects the concept of the temple as realised template.

2Chr 36:23 depicts the decree of Cyrus with three basic concerns. First, all kingdoms on *earth* were a gift from YHWH, the God of *heaven*, for Cyrus. This is in spoken of in terms of a vertical heaven-and-earth language. The earthly nations were contingent to YHWH in heaven, and the two realms were under YHWH's control.

Second, building YHWH's temple in Jerusalem was the fundamental concern. There seems to have a spatial orientation from "all kingdoms on earth", to "Judah", "Jerusalem", and finally "the temple". The temple was thus of central significance within the horizontal earthly realm.

Third, a remarkable difference from Ezra 1:3 is the lack of an indirect object after "let him go up" () (the indirect object of in Ezra 1:3 is). This opens some interpretative possibilities that the target of "going up" may not be merely confined to Jerusalem as physical place of pilgrimage.⁴⁶⁴ 1Chr 9:3-34 illustrates a list of returnees, of which cultic personnel (1Chr 9:10-34) occupy the main portion. The building of the temple should thus not be read merely as a building project but also as a reestablishment of liturgy and cult.⁴⁶⁵ This allows us to read "going up" liturgically and symbolically; worshippers were invited to rebuild the temple cult for seeking the God of heaven.

Therefore, the ending of 2Chr 36:23 probably shows a central concern for the Jerusalem temple with the temple as realised template. The emphasis on "going up" can be interpreted as symbolic act of seeking YHWH in heaven from earth through the temple, as an upward liturgical movement. It shows (1) the global, governing power of

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Knowles, *Centrality*, 79–92.

⁴⁶⁵ Martin J. Selman, "Jerusalem in Chronicles," in *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 44–46.

the God of heaven and (2) the earthly temple as the gateway for the symbolic orientation of “going up”, seeking the coherence between heaven and earth.

We also see that Chronicles starts with Adam (1Chr 1:1) and ends with the decree of Cyrus. It thus starts with the ordered creation of humanity and ends with the Jerusalem temple, the central role of which was to foster the ordered world governed by the “God of heaven”, a name reaffirmed when the Persians identified YHWH. The very existence of the Persian Empire helped to sustain such global order. We can thus suggest that the Chronicler directs his readership towards the (re)building of the temple with the temple as realised template as one of his considerations.

4.2.1.2. *The Traffic Between and*

The terms and appear in 1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 6:21, 23, 25, 30, 33, 35, 39; 7:1, 14, (ten times), while Samuel-Kings contains six occurrences: 2Sam 21:10; 2Kgs 1:10, 12, and 14.

A remarkable observation is that the Chronicler alters most occurrences of reflected in 1Kgs 8:22-53 (//2Chr 6:12-42) to (seven times in 2Chr 6:21, 23, 25, 30, 33, 35, 39).⁴⁶⁶ Since the preposition has a sense of separation or “motion away from”,⁴⁶⁷ the traffic between heaven and earth is thus emphasised. The prayer in the temple was heard “from heaven” (Chronicles) instead of “in heaven” (Kings). The latter emphasises YHWH’s dwelling place in heaven, while the former emphasises the traffic between heaven and earth. In 1Chr 21:26 and 2Chr 7:1, the Chronicler’s *Sondergut*, fire came down “from heaven” to consume the burnt-offering, symbolising YHWH’s acceptance. A similar fire occurs in 1Kgs 18:38 (without “from heaven”) and 2Kgs 1:10, 12, 14. The prime concern of 2Kgs 1 is the legitimacy of Elijah as a

⁴⁶⁶ Except that in 1Kgs 8:30 is changed to in 2Chr 6:21, in which (1Kgs 8:30) is also altered to (2Chr 6:21). in 1Kgs 8:43 is also changed to in 2Chr 6:33.

⁴⁶⁷ GKC §119v-z.

man of God, not the symbolism of YHWH's acceptance *within the temple*. Since we are dealing with the concept of the *temple* as realised template, the Chronicler thus shows a distinctive conviction that affirms the temple as the meeting place between heaven and earth with a traffic of fire (YHWH's acceptance) and of prayer (YHWH's hearing), showing YHWH's governance of the whole world.

There are three occurrences (2Chr 28:9; 30:27; 32:20) that show an upward movement from below. 2Chr 28:9 and 32:20, the Chronicler's *Sondergut*, depict terror and joy reaching the heaven. 2Kgs 19:14 illustrates that Hezekiah faced the siege of King Sennacherib of Assyria and presented the letter from Sennacherib before YHWH, while 2Chr 32:20 narrates a cry to heaven by Hezekiah and Isaiah. YHWH responded immediately in 2Chr 32:21 by sending an angel to smite down all the Assyrian army, while 2Kgs 19 focuses more on the content of Hezekiah's prayer. 2Chr 30:27, the Chronicler's *Sondergut*, is the concluding statement at the end of Hezekiah's reinauguration of the temple and the Passover and clearly shows that earthly prayer could reach the heavenly dwelling place (cf. Section 7.3.3).

Chronicles thus shows a traffic between heaven and earth, while Kings does not. This concept of upward movement conveys that heaven was the place of appeal for the fortunes and misfortunes of the whole world, though only 2Chr 30:27 shows the traffic between heaven and earth in the context of the temple.

In short, the temple as realised template is probably a pre-understanding of the Chronicler. Taken together with the discussion in Section 4.1, this shows the interplay between the cultural milieu of the citizen-temple community and the Chronicler's depictions of the temple in Chronicles. A further question remains on whether the intra-Jewish reflection of the temple as realised template in pre-Chronistic works affected the Chronicler's hermeneutical situation.

4.2.2. The Temple as Realised Template in Pre-Chronistic Works

I choose Isa 6 (and 1Kgs 22:19-22) and Ezek 40-48 as pivotal texts in my exploration of the intra-Jewish recontextualisations of the two premises in the temple as realised template (i.e. the link between heaven and earth, and the global government of God) because they show a clear vision of the heavenly court and temple.⁴⁶⁸ I shall also allude to some portions of the Psalter. The aim here is to explore briefly the ongoing theological reflections of the two premises in the pre-Chronistic texts that, through the historical continuum, affected the pre-understanding of the Chronicler.⁴⁶⁹

4.2.2.1. *Isa 6:1-13 (and 1Kgs 22:19-22)*

Isaiah's vision opens (6:1) with YHWH sitting on his throne that is "high and lofty" (). YHWH's robe filled "the temple" (). The choice of (6:1) instead of (6:4) to denote the temple may strengthen the imagery of YHWH as a global king whose house is a palace.

In fact, YHWH did not live inside this palace, because he had a superhuman size symbolised by his lofty throne and robe (cf. 2Chr 2:5-6). 1Kgs 6:3, 5, 17, 33; 7:21, 50 and 2Chr 3:17; 4:7-8, 22 use to denote Solomon's temple, and this probably suggests that in Isa 6:1 refers to the Jerusalem temple. Hayward allows the possibility to interpret as the heavenly temple and in Isa 6:4 as the earthly temple.⁴⁷⁰ This possibility can be confined by the observation that Solomon's temple was built with an understanding that YHWH was too big to be confined within a

⁴⁶⁸ For their pre-Chronistic dating, see Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 30–56; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 1-24*, trans. R.E. Clements, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 9–16.

⁴⁶⁹ Cf. Gadamer, *Truth*, 267–274.

⁴⁷⁰ Robert Hayward, "The Chant of Seraphim and the Worship of the Second Temple," *PIBA* 20 (1997): 64–65.

temple (2Chr 2:5-6; 1Kgs 8:27). The imagery in Isa 6:1 generally echoes this, so that the building below YHWH's throne should be understood as the earthly temple in contrast with the enormity of YHWH's dwelling in the heavenly throne. The heavenly throne in Isa 6:1 was spatially atop the earthly temple, showing a vertical worldview of the temple in relation to the God-king figure.⁴⁷¹ This symbolised the core of the temple as realised template imagery.

Isa 6:2 depicts seraphs as YHWH's attendants flying above YHWH in heaven, a figure of angelic beings. Isa 6:3 gives the well-known Trisagion "Holy! Holy! Holy! YHWH of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory" (

) chanted by the seraphs. This verse is theologically rich:

1. The Trisagion can be considered as an abbreviation of Ps 99, in which appears three times (Ps 99:3, 5, 9) as the structural device of the whole psalm.⁴⁷² The imagery in Ps 99 is fully compatible with shared ideas in Isa 6 such as "YHWH is king" (99:1a), "He sits enthroned" (99:1b), "let the earth quake" (99:1b; cf. Isa 6:4), "worship at his footstool" (99:5),⁴⁷³ and "a forgiving God" (99:8; cf. Isa 6:7). The earthly worship envisaged in Ps 99 probably corresponds to the heavenly chanting of seraphim, because they both share the same imagery and the same Trisagion. In this way, the earthly worshippers imitated the seraphim (*imitatio angeli*).
2. It is intriguing that the chanting of seraphim shows a primary concern with the glory filling whole earth. The coherence between heaven and earth is probably the prime concern here because the content of seraphim's chanting shows that the

⁴⁷¹ Janowski, "Weltbild," 17, 20–21.

⁴⁷² Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 99; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 27, 41.

⁴⁷³ is below his throne (Isa 6:1). If is the earthly temple, the exhortation in Ps 99:5 that invites worshipping at YHWH's footstool (i.e. below his throne) matches the earthly temple as a place of worship.

complete holiness in heaven represented by the Trisagion (Isa 6:3a) should match YHWH's glory on earth (Isa 6:3b).

3. A main task of seraphim was to praise YHWH. This angelic task can be traced in many allusions in the Psalter. The "sons of gods" () were to ascribe to YHWH's glory and strength (Ps 29:1). YHWH's angels, mighty ones, all his hosts, and all his works were to praise YHWH before his established throne in heaven (Ps 103:19-22). All YHWH's angels and his host, together with the whole world, were to praise YHWH (Ps 148). Ps 148 invites all peoples (Ps 148:11-12) and Israelites (Ps 148:14) to join angelic praise (Ps 148:2) and universal praise (Ps 148:3-10), in order to manifest YHWH's universal glory in heaven and earth (Ps 148:13).⁴⁷⁴ This all-inclusive worship depicts "Israel's joining in the song of seraphim."⁴⁷⁵ As the Israelites were invited to join the angelic praise in the holy temple, they would have been cautious about their state of purity, a prerequisite for true worship. For example, those who praise YHWH are called "his pious" () (Ps 30:5; 31:24) and "his holy ones" () (Ps 34:10). They worshipped in "the holy temple" () (Ps 5:8). They had to maintain ritual and moral purity (Pss 15:2; 24:4) before they could worship "in the holy mountain" () (Ps 15:1) or "in his holy place" () (Ps 24:3). As such, the chanting of worshippers in the temple may have been understood as a part of angelic and global worship on earth and reflected in the Psalter and Isaiah.

Isa 6:4 mentions that the thresholds shook and the earthly temple was filled with smoke because of the voice of the one calling "out of one who calls" () (i.e.

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. Kraus, *Theology*, 48–49.

⁴⁷⁵ Hayward, "Seraphim," 80.

seraphim). One reading of here is causative,⁴⁷⁶ meaning that the voice of seraphim caused (or invoked) YHWH's presence as it did in the theophany in Mount Sinai. If this is the case, the earthly chanting, as a part of angelic praise, may be being described as causing YHWH's presence in the temple (cf. 2Chr 5:12-14). Again, the earthly temple was probably perceived as the meeting place of heaven and earth and as an analogy for the heavenly temple, the global headquarters governing the world.⁴⁷⁷

While Isa 6:1-13 probably expresses the main premises in the temple as a realised template, 1Kgs 22:19-22 (//2Chr 18:18-21) only alludes to a general connection between heaven and earth without the temple context. "YHWH sitting on his throne" (1Kgs 22:19) pictures YHWH as a king with royal symbols, such as a throne and attendants, that resembles those in Isaiah's vision. The contrast between "sitting" () and "standing" () highlights the role of the host as one of waiting upon the one who sat, while the seraphim in Isaiah's vision were in motion. YHWH then asked who will carry out his commission (1Kgs 22:20), and "the spirit" () responded by suggesting that he became "a spirit of deception" () in the mouth of prophets to entice Ahab (1Kgs 22:22b//2Chr 18:21). As such, "the spirit" had personal qualities;⁴⁷⁸ he could speak and offer opinions and even convert himself into a lying spirit.

Two observations should be made here. First, the symbolism used to describe the heavenly and earthly courts is basically the same, and the traffic between the two realms relied on the mediation of heavenly . This shows earthly affairs being governed by the heavenly court. Second, Micaiah did not involve himself within the heavenly court as one of the agents, unlike Isaiah. Since the Chronicler reproduces this episode almost *verbatim* and thereby suggesting that he has a high regard for this

⁴⁷⁶ GKC §119z.

⁴⁷⁷ Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 123.

⁴⁷⁸ " , " *TDOT*, XIII:390.

narrative, he therefore demonstrates his concern for the connection between heaven and earth and the traffic between them. Although 1Kgs 22:19-22 does not actually invoke the temple as realised template, it depicts the relationship between heaven and earth in a way that would have affected the Chronicler's hermeneutical situation.⁴⁷⁹

4.2.2.2. *Ezek 40-48*

Ezek 40-48 depicts the temple in Ezekiel's vision, and these verses are important to our discussion, because this description of the temple encapsulates most of the main ideas associated with the temple as realised template.

First, the vision is described as beginning "upon a very high mountain" () (Ezek 40:2). The imagery of the highest mountain also appears in Isa 2:2, where YHWH's temple was established on it in Jerusalem (Isa 2:1). Another similarity appears in Ezek 34:14, in which YHWH is said to feed his sheep "on the mountain heights of Israel" (). The plural "mountains" in MT does not allow its meaning to be confined to Jerusalem, but a reading of Jerusalem as the type of all Israel is warranted in Ezekiel.⁴⁸⁰ Ezek 40:2 clearly refers to Jerusalem, and the imagery in Isa 2:1-4 and Ezek 34:14 show that God gathered up his people (sheep) into a unified worship upon Mount Zion, where the temple held the liturgical services in connection with God in heaven. The idea of "going up" (to the mountain) in Isa 2:3 denotes a mass pilgrimage, symbolising a spiritual journey on God's path (Ps 15:1-2; 24:3-6; 43:3-4; 122:3-5). Many psalms describe Mount Zion as YHWH's dwelling place, where worshippers had to come.⁴⁸¹ The idea of "mountain" thus symbolises the meeting place between God and all Israel and between heaven and earth.

⁴⁷⁹ For a form-critical tradition-history of 1Kgs 22:19-22 and Isa 6:1-13, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 97-100.

⁴⁸⁰ Jon D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, HSM 10 (Cambridge, Mass: Scholars Press, 1976), 8-9.

⁴⁸¹ Kraus, *Theology*, 73-74.

Second, the concept of a world mountain is connected with the notion of “the navel of the earth” () (Judg 9:37; Ezek 38:12), representing an ANE belief that the cultic place was the centre of the world or that “[t]he temple or sacred city, in turn, as the place through which the Axis Mundi passes, is held to be a point of junction between heaven, earth, and hell.”⁴⁸² It also resembles the “world mountain” ideology in the Esagila temple of Marduk (Section 2.4.2).

Ezek 5:5 makes clear that Jerusalem was the centre of the nations, with other countries surrounding it. Israel’s tribal allocation of land in Ezek 48:8-22 could have been structured according to the concept of , in which an equal number of tribes were located in the north and south of the central sanctuary respectively, with Levites and priests as the mediating position between sanctuary and people.⁴⁸³ Similar concepts appear in the city of Babylon, which identified itself as the centre of the whole world (Section 2.4.2).

Following an analysis of the genealogical portion (1Chr 1-9) and the Assyrian campaign during Hezekiah’s time (2Chr 32:19),⁴⁸⁴ Beentjes concludes that Chronicles presents the temple of Jerusalem as “the very centre of all kingdoms of the earth”.⁴⁸⁵ Dyck explores the Chronicler’s ideology of identity in relation to the legitimacy of Jerusalem⁴⁸⁶ and affirms that “[t]he Chronicler is asking his audience to imagine Jerusalem as the centre of a nation.”⁴⁸⁷ These provide a strong argument that the Chronicler sees Jerusalem as the centre of the earth. Such thinking can also be found in 2Chr 36:22-23, which probably depicts a gradual concentric orientation from “the kingdoms of the earth” to “Judah” to “Jerusalem” and finally to “the temple” (cf.

⁴⁸² Eliade, *Patterns*, 375.

⁴⁸³ Levenson, *Ezekiel 40-48*, 117–121.

⁴⁸⁴ Beentjes, *Tradition*, 115–127.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁸⁶ Dyck, *Theocratic*, 127–164.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 162.

Section 4.2.1.1). Therefore, all Israel should have gathered at this centre as the rightful place of worship, in order to worship for the government of the whole world.

Third, Ezekiel 43:7 depicts the visionary temple as “the place of my throne” (). The concept of a divine throne appears in Isa 6:1 as a static throne, but Ezek 10 depicts the mobile chariot-throne of cherubim as YHWH’s throne (Ezek 10:1, 19; cf. Ps 18:11). The spirit in the movement of the wheels may not be described for the sake of their navigating power but for their animating ability.⁴⁸⁸ This notion of mobility (symbolised by wheels) was probably influenced by the Jewish experience of in exile, in which they experienced the presence of YHWH in Babylon (Ezek 11:16) and learned of his global mobility as a global, imperial God – a concept similar to that of the Marduk cult in Babylon.⁴⁸⁹ The Chronicler reframes the chariot-throne as an integral part of the divine template (1Chr 28:18) and shows a clear respect for this tradition.

Finally, Ezek 47 pictures the temple as the source of life, using themes of river, water, and plantation. The idea of sacred streams may stem from Isa 8:6-7; 33:20-24 and the Canaanite river in El’s abode, being recontextualised in Ezek 47:9 as a source of healing and life (cf. Zech 14:8-11; Joel 2:3; 4:18-21).⁴⁹⁰ This imagery also comes from the Garden of Eden;⁴⁹¹ some traditions view the holy mountain as Eden (Ezek

⁴⁸⁸ James Robson, *Word and Spirit in Ezekiel* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 88–90.

⁴⁸⁹ The concept of divine absence in Marduk’s sanctuary reflected in the poem of Erra resembles the depictions in Ezek 8-11: Daniel Bodi, *The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra* (Freiburg, Schweiz; Göttingen: Universitätsverlag ; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 183–218. Ezek 40-48 shows a parallel with the Babylonian New Year *Akitû*-festival: Kalinda Rose Stevenson, *The Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40-48* (Atlanta: SBL, 1996), 52–53.

⁴⁹⁰ Levenson, *Ezekiel 40-48*, 11–12.

⁴⁹¹ Gordon J. Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story,” in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11*, ed. Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 399–404. For the “temple garden” in the cultural setting of Babylonia, see Manfred Dietrich, “Das biblische Paradies und der babylonische Tempelgarten: Überlegungen zur Lage des Gartens Eden,” in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 281–320.

28:13-14; 36:35; Isa 51:1-3).⁴⁹² The pillars Jachin and Boaz within the temple (1Kgs 7:15-22, 41-42) would have symbolised divine power and blessing in Eden.⁴⁹³ The garden imagery should also be detected in the cherubim inside the Holy of Holies (Ezek 41:18-20), symbolising the guarding power over the garden (Gen 3:24). We thus find a network of symbols surrounding the temple and mirroring the creation of the world and the source of life (Gen 1).⁴⁹⁴

4.2.3. Summary

To conclude, the two premises (i.e. the link between heaven and earth and the divine governance of the world) in the temple as realised template should be considered as the intra-Jewish traditions that affected the pre-understanding of the Chronicler in his reinterpretation of these traditions.

First, the cultural milieu of the citizen-temple community fostered the embodiment of the two premises. This was enriched by the wider Mesopotamian temple ideologies, in the scribal context of the Chronicler with a transcendent awareness of YHWH as the global, imperial God. The belief in YHWH's transcendence is evidenced by the generic term "God of heaven" being used by the Persian ruling class to identify him. These cultural elements shaped the pre-understanding of the citizen-temple community, including that of the Chronicler.

Second, the Chronicler's choice of language reveals the two premises that prevailed in the temple context, conveying YHWH as the ultimate governor of the whole world, especially at the close of Chronicles in 2Chr 36:23.

Third, the ongoing intra-Jewish recontextualisations of the two premises involve

⁴⁹² Fishbane, *Text and Texture*, 111–120.

⁴⁹³ Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "'Who Is the King of Glory?' Solomon's temple and Its Symbolism," in *Scripture and Other Artifacts* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox Pr, 1994), 18–26.

⁴⁹⁴ Susan Niditch, "Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context," *CBQ* 48 (1986): 208–224.

a cluster of notions symbolising the temple as the meeting place between heaven and earth, as the place for fostering worldwide stability, as the navel of the earth, and as the source of life. The divine throne in heaven was directly atop the earthly temple, so that the angelic beings surrounding this throne acted as mediators in exercising the divine government of the whole world. We know that this stream of traditions is persistent and dominant in the HB and in the Mesopotamian temple ideologies as well as in the mind of the Chronicler. From this, we can explain the availability of the theological richness of the two premises in pre-Chronistic Israelite traditions for the use in the Chronicler's intra-Jewish reinterpretation and the socio-ideological motivation for incorporating the premises. The Mesopotamian scholar-singer context probably played a significant role in the experience of the exile and the Chronicler's reflection on it probably reinforced a choice of ideas surrounding the temple as realised template, that is already latent in texts like Isa 6, Ezek 40-48, and the Psalter, to serve the theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community.

4.3. The Temple in Chronicles

Although I have argued that the narrative emplotment of Chronicles orientates towards its closure (2Chr 36:22-23), which probably involves the temple as realised template, more exegetical work needs to be done to verify this orientation in the Chronicler's depiction of the temple. This section thus examines the Chronicler's use of the ideas surrounding the temple as realised template (1Chr 21:1-22:1; 28:11-19; 2Chr 3:1-5:1).

As I shall show, the Chronicler introduces elements, such as angelic beings, a heavenly template, and temple symbolism, to convey his theological conviction that the Jerusalem temple represented the earthly counterpart of the heavenly temple, governing the order of the whole world. I shall examine the details of how the Chronicler expresses his theological conviction by using specific expressions.

4.3.1. The Temple as the Place in which Wrath was Averted: 1Chr 21:1-22:1

In 1Chr 21:1-22:1, the Chronicler designates the temple as the place where wrath and instability could be averted. He recontextualises the story of David's census in 2Sam 24 and reformulates it in order to designate the place () for the building of YHWH's temple and to establish a link between averting wrath () and the function of the temple (cf. 1Chr 27:24; 2Chr 3:1). These two programmatic functions formulate the literary context of 1Chr21:1-22:1. In what follows, I attempt to uncover some of the ideas introduced by the Chronicler in his recontextualisation of David's census.

First, the enigmatic term in 21:1 deserves examination. We have to decide whether it is a proper name,⁴⁹⁵ or not,⁴⁹⁶ and whether it refers to a heavenly⁴⁹⁷ or earthly adversary.⁴⁹⁸ This anarthrous can be read as a proper noun,⁴⁹⁹ or an indefinite being.⁵⁰⁰ It is thus syntactically indeterminable. The proper name "Satan" as YHWH's adversary had not appeared by the Chronicler's time – the earliest evidence for it points to, at most, the second century BCE.⁵⁰¹ We also cannot find any dualism in Chronicles to indicate Satan as the source of evil. Understanding as the proper name "Satan" is likely to be anachronistic from a traditio-historical viewpoint.

The choosing of the verbs and (1Chr 21:1) points to Job 2:3 and Zech 3:1, in which "incited" () Job among "the sons of God" () in the heavenly court (Job 2:1) and also "stood" () beside the high priest Joshua to be his

⁴⁹⁵ William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 1, JSOTSS 253 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997), 225; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 418; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 143.

⁴⁹⁶ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 373–375; Peggy Lynne Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Šaṭan in the Hebrew Bible*, HSM 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 127–142.

⁴⁹⁷ Day, *Adversary*, 142–144; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 418.

⁴⁹⁸ John W. Wright, "The Innocence of David in 1 Chronicles 21," *JSOT* 60 (1993): 93; Japhet, *Ideology*, 114–116.

⁴⁹⁹ GKC §125f.

⁵⁰⁰ GKC §126i.

⁵⁰¹ Day, *Adversary*, 128–129.

adversary ().⁵⁰² Both indicate that was a specific angelic being in the heavenly court. Since the idea of the heavenly court is not alien to the Chronicler (2Chr 18), in 21:1 is likely to refer to a heavenly being.⁵⁰³ 21:1 states that incited David to number Israel, while 2Sam 24:1 depicts the agent as YHWH. Some might speculate that the Chronicler intends to whitewash YHWH according to his ideology,⁵⁰⁴ but it is uncertain whether he has such an overarching ideology or not (e.g. 2Chr 18:18-22; 10:15).⁵⁰⁵ Rather, it seems that the Chronicler feels free to depict as a member of the heavenly court. I thus believe that here designates a heavenly agent under YHWH's rule, playing a role in choosing the temple site.

Another idea can be found in the angelological personification of the pestilence, compared with the parallel narrative in 2 Samuel. Metaphorical language is introduced in 21:12 to designate "pestilence" () as "the sword of YHWH" () and "the angel of YHWH destroying all the territory of Israel" (). This replaces "three days' pestilence in your land" in 2Sam 24:13.⁵⁰⁶

Although the pestilence as a destroying angel has been already represented in 2Sam 24:16-17, the pestilence as "the sword" is the Chronicler's new metaphorical referent. The word "sword" is repeated in 21:5 (x2), 12 (x2), 16, 27, 30 as the dominant word, and it has affinity with Josh 5:13-15, describing whether Joshua and his army were really acting with the commander of YHWH's army or not.⁵⁰⁷ Ps 149 also orders "the assembly of the faithful" (v.1) and "the children of Zion" (v.2) to praise YHWH with "two-edged swords in their hands" () (v.6). "The

⁵⁰² Williamson, *Chronicles*, 143.

⁵⁰³ Ryan E. Stokes, "The Devil Made David Do It ... Or Did He? The Nature, Identity, and Literary Origins of the Satan in 1 Chronicles 21:1," *JBL* 128 (2009): 91–106.

⁵⁰⁴ E.g., Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 751.

⁵⁰⁵ Day, *Adversary*, 135.

⁵⁰⁶ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 381.

⁵⁰⁷ Rudolf Mosis, *Untersuchungen Zur Theologie Des Chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, FTS 92 (Freiburg: Herder, 1973), 115–116.

praise is accompanied by brandishing swords” in order to “carry out the judgment of Yahweh.”⁵⁰⁸ Both associations use military language to show that the earthly army of Israel worked in synchronisation with YHWH’s heavenly host to carry out his judgment. However, David might not have seen this synchronisation as necessary, so the pestilence is described as happening as a punishment for this. The Chronicler thus reformulates the pestilence as a threat personified metaphorically as “the sword of YHWH’s angel”, to correct David’s negligence.

The personification of the pestilence sharpens the angelic mediating role, symbolised by “the angel of YHWH standing between the earth and heaven and his drawn sword in his hand” () (21:16). Scholars have agreed that this phrase already exists in the Chronicler’s Samuel-*Vorlage* close to 4QSam^a.⁵⁰⁹ However, even if this phrase already occurs in his *Vorlage*, it does not mean that the Chronicler simply copied without thinking whether the phrase would serve his purpose or not. Rather, if we believe that his work is an intelligible whole, the adoption of this phrase could give an important clue about his angelology. This is further evidenced by the massive reworking of the angelic element in 21:12, 20, 27, and by the insertion of an interpreting angel (cf. Ezek 40:3) as a prophetic intermediary between YHWH and Gad the seer, commanding the erecting of an altar at the threshing floor of Ornan in 21:18 (cf. Ezek 8:3).⁵¹⁰ The Chronicler thus probably accepts the prophetic, mediating function of angelic beings; his angelology is typical of his time, though we should not understand it as having been systematically developed.

Another important idea is the Chronicler’s addition of in

⁵⁰⁸ Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 567.

⁵⁰⁹ Lemke, “Synoptic Problem,” 355–357; Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, HSM 19 (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1978), 156–157; P.B. Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters Press, 2005), 260; McKenzie, *Chronicler’s Use*, 55–58; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 381.

⁵¹⁰ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 65–66, 140–142.

Joab's complaint (21:3). The choice of "retribution"⁵¹¹ () points to Lev 5:24-26, in which is to be handled carefully with an appropriate atonement. Johnstone gives a convincing argument that David's problem was his violation of performing a ransom () before he numbered the people for a military purpose (Exod 30:11-16)⁵¹² and remarks that "military service is only legitimate within the context of fighting the LORD's battle as the LORD's host."⁵¹³ He also offers his interpretation as contributing to our understanding of David's role:

The destiny of Israel is to realize on behalf of the nations of the world that relationship with God requires a life of holiness as defined in the Torah. C is dealing with the question of how far the monarchy at its most ideal – the sacramental Jerusalemite tradition whereby David as the representative of God on earth leads the host of Israel which is the earthly counterpart of the cosmic forces at the LORD's disposal for the direction of the life of the universe – enables Israel's attainment of that holiness.⁵¹⁴

Since holiness is the very nature of YHWH, if Israel was to be considered as a "holy nation" (Exod 19:6) and a "people holy to YHWH" (Deut 14:21), David, as the earthly representative of Israel, should have ensured that Israel was holy to YHWH.

was thus seen as a threat to this holiness and had to be cautiously handled by atonement in order to foster the coherence between heavenly and earthly holiness. Ezra 9:6 says, "Our guilt has multiplied toward the *heaven*" ().

arose due to their inability to keep pure in the "unclean *earth*" () (Ezra 9:11) due to intermarriage. This also shows the heaven-and-earth dimension of .

Milgrom argues that should be understood as the consequence of guilt in a cultic context, as designating the punishment due to wrongdoing. The consequential

⁵¹¹ I follow Milgrom and Klein using "retribution" to denote the consequential in 21:3: Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 341; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 420.

⁵¹² Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:228–229; William Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus: An Analogy and Its Application*, JSOTSS 275 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1998), 128–140. The military purpose of David's census is more clearly illustrated by the phrase in 1Chr 21:5 than in 2Sam 24:9.

⁵¹³ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:228.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:224.

sense of leads to the need to seek reconciliation with YHWH by reparation.⁵¹⁵

The Chronicler probably applies the concept of by emphasising its consequential aspect in 21:14, where it led to unity in the community (reconciliation) in 21:16b.⁵¹⁶

David's confession on behalf of the whole community (21:17) was important because it probably follows the priestly traditions in which repentance through confession is believed to convert an intentional sin into inadvertence that was eligible for sacrificial reparation.⁵¹⁷ Thus the Chronicler puts David's confession before the reparation, which demanded the purchase of the site "at full cost" () (21:22, 24).⁵¹⁸ The cost, 600 shekels of gold (21:25),⁵¹⁹ was used for atoning according to Exod 30:12-14, in which it was a "ransom for their lives to YHWH" ().⁵²⁰ The Chronicler skilfully inserts this full cost for the reparation of on the one hand and for purchasing the temple site on the other. It was intended to buy the "place" ()⁵²¹ (21:25) instead of just "the threshing floor and the oxen" (2Sam 24:24): the scene is similar to Abraham's purchase of a burial cave in Gen 23:8-20.⁵²² Therefore, we see a cluster of ideas (retribution, reparation, and holiness) put to work in designating the function of the temple for removing and keeping holy coherence between heaven and earth.

Finally, the most prominent idea can be found in 21:26b, in which the Chronicler

⁵¹⁵ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 345; Jacob Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience: The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance*, SJLA 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 4-12.

⁵¹⁶ Kenneth A. Ristau, "Breaking Down Unity: An Analysis of 1 Chronicles 21.1-22.1," *JSOT* 30 (2005): 218-220.

⁵¹⁷ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 373-378.

⁵¹⁸ 2Sam 24:21 lacks this phrase.

⁵¹⁹ 2Sam 24:24 reads "50 shekels of silver."

⁵²⁰ John Jarick, *1 Chronicles*, RNBC (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 135. Cf. Jacob Milgrom, "A Prolegomenon to Leviticus 17:11," *JBL* 90 (1971): 151. "Ransom" can be expanded to the meaning of "composatory payment" that aims at settling the imbalance between two parties and restores equilibrium: Herbert Chanan Brichto, "On Slaughter and Sacrifice, Blood and Atonement," *HUCA* 47 (1976): 27-28.

⁵²¹ refers to the religious site that the ark of YHWH should find rest (1Chr 28:2). Cf. 1Chr 15:1-3; 16:27; 2Chr 6:40.

⁵²² Japhet, *Chronicles*, 387.

adds, “He [David] called upon the LORD, and he answered him with fire from the heaven upon the altar of burnt-offering” (

). In 21:25, reparation was fulfilled by paying the full cost. This cleaned up

Why did have to be removed before David built the altar? One possible answer is in the priestly traditions that ritual purity “is the prerequisite for the performance of sacrificial ritual.”⁵²³ Maintaining a properly purified sacrificial rite was believed somehow to attract the divine presence, but great guilt was seen as producing ritual and moral defilement that repelled the divine presence. The Chronicler shows that he is a follower of the priestly traditions by placing the need for purity before the burnt-offering in 21:26.

Many commentators have noticed the fire as signalling the divine acceptance attested in Lev 9:24; 1Kgs 18:37-38; 2Chr 7:1. I shall explore the symbolism of the fire and burnt-offering in Section 7.1.3. As for 21:26, the Chronicler puts the fire and burnt-offering together: descending fire symbolising the divine presence and ascending smoke symbolising human response, emphasising the traffic between heaven and earth. He also puts the descending fire and the burnt-offering before the ending of the divine wrath in 21:27 and before the confirmation of the temple site in 22:1 in order to convey that the earthly temple was the appointed place for maintaining a properly conducted sacrificial service for the purpose of averting wrath.

Although we cannot see a full articulation of the temple as realised template in 1Chr 21:1-22:1, because the temple had not yet been built and the template had not yet been inspired, it unambiguously prepared for the foundation of the temple as the place where heaven and earth communicate.

⁵²³ Klawans, *Purity*, 56.

4.3.2. The Temple as the Place Built from a Divine Template: 1Chr 28:11-19

1Chr 28:11-19 describes David as receiving a divinely inspired template () for building YHWH's temple. The word appears four times (vv.11, 12, 18, 19), and becomes an *inclusio* of the whole episode. This highlights the content in between as the details of the . Furthermore, although only appears four times in Chronicles, its occurrence in the strategic location of 1Chr 28 would have given a literary expectation that this directs our basic understanding of the Jerusalem temple, because 1Chr 28 belongs to one of the important portions for describing the preparation of the temple (1Chr 21-29). De Vries even thinks that 1Chr 23-27 belongs to the content of as well.⁵²⁴ Therefore, when I use the temple as realised template to conceptualise the Chronicler's temple ideology, I am invoking the Chronicler's core understanding of the temple, which was built according to .

As we have seen (Section 2.4.2), the Marduk sanctuary was seen as the counterpart of the three layers of heavenly residences of gods, acting as the vertical connection in the centre of the world symbolised by the ziggurat, Etemenanki. Gudea of Lagash also received a heavenly template for building the temple of Nin irsu. It seems that the idea of an inspired template for legitimising the authenticity of an earthly sanctuary, as an analogous realisation of the heavenly one, had been prevalent in Mesopotamian and Israelite cultures. It is more likely, however, that the Chronicler performs a typological transfer from the tabernacle tradition of (Exod 25:9, 40) to the Davidic temple (David as the second Moses) in order to emphasise the continuity between the tabernacle and the temple,⁵²⁵ rather than directly borrowing from Mesopotamian literature. Nevertheless, his reinterpretation of Israelite

⁵²⁴ Simon J. De Vries, "Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles," *JBL* 107 (1988): 630–631.

⁵²⁵ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 931; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 524.

traditions may have been influenced by Mesopotamian temple ideologies that also invoked the idea of a divine template. As such, the tabernacle tradition of was reaffirmed in the Chronicler's reinterpretation to suit the social, political, and theological agendas of the citizen-temple community. This designation points metaphorically to the shared idea of a template, which widely prevailed in Babylonian-Persian culture, so that the primary readership could refigure its meaning and sense the Chronicler's intention to identify the Jerusalem temple as comparable to surrounding temples.

Three plans for sanctuaries are to be found outside of Chronicles: (1) the tabernacle in Exod 25, in which occurs three times (Exod 25:9, 40); (2) Solomon's temple in 1Kgs 6-7; and (3) Ezekiel's visionary temple in Ezek 40-48, in which Ezek 43:10-12 describes how a heavenly being revealed a "measurement" () for the visionary temple. The Chronicler supplements 1Kgs 6-7 with 1Chr 28:11-19 in order to elucidate that the temple was patterned after a divine template (). He also employs the literary framework of Exod 25:8-40, in which also acts as an *inclusio* (Exod 25:9, 40), and he fills the literary content with traditions from Ezekiel such as the chariot and the golden cherubim in 28:18. We thus see an example of how the Chronicler configures his own presentation with different traditions from pre-Chronistic traditions.

Though the theme of this episode is very clear, the Hebrew text is very difficult. We encounter at least four problems: (1) whether (28:12) refers to David's mind,⁵²⁶ or the inspiring spirit of God;⁵²⁷ (2) whether (28:18) modifies template, chariot, or cherubim;⁵²⁸ (3) whether the subject of (28:19) is YHWH,⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ R.N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah XI 13-14: A Study of the Sources of the Theology of Deutero-Isaiah*, SOTSMS 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1971), 11-12; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 525; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 182.

⁵²⁷ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 931; Schniedewind, *Transition*, 202-203.

⁵²⁸ Rudolph concretises the template as "das Gebilde des Wagens" for "gold" to modify: Wilhelm

writing,⁵³⁰ or David;⁵³¹ and (4) whether we should read, “YHWH’s hand was upon me” () (MT) or “upon him” () (G) in 28:19, and what the relationship between this clause and the whole sentence is.⁵³² These four questions should be handled before we can understand the meaning of .

First, in Chronicles can refer to the human mind (2Chr 21:16; 36:22)⁵³³ and to the inspiring spirit of God (2Chr 15:1; 18:20-23; 20:14; 24:20). Knoppers argues that the Chronicler could have used another phrase (in 1Chr 22:7; 28:2; 2Chr 6:7; 29:10) to denote David’s mind, if he had wished to do so.⁵³⁴ Furthermore, 28:19 clearly states that the was divinely inspired. It is thus not difficult to read in 28:12 as an inspiring spirit, if the concluding statement in 28:19 affirms the “inspired” dimension of .⁵³⁵ This also matches the Chronicler’s normal practice of describing prophetic inspiration by means of an inspiring spirit (2Chr 15:1; 18:20-23; 20:14; 24:20). In 28:12, is preceded by a definite article, and we can reasonably associate it with “the spirit” () in 2Chr 18:20-23. Given that the Chronicler prefers the mediating role of an angel in 1Chr 21:16, 18, it is reasonable that in 28:12 refers to an inspiring angelic spirit. But we also need to allow a possibility that the Chronicler prefers Ezekiel’s , which is occasionally conceived as an animating spirit from God instead of a heavenly being.⁵³⁶ The Chronicler’s use of here

Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, HAT 21 (Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1955), 188. Dirksen excludes “cherubim” as a possibility as it was made from “oleaster wood”: P.B. Dirksen, “1 Chronicles XXVIII 11-18: Its Textual Development,” VT 46 (1996): 431. But Klein disagrees because the cherubim were overlaid with gold (2Chr 3:10) and made of gold (Exod 25:18): Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 526–527 n.74.

⁵²⁹ Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 300.

⁵³⁰ Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 341–342.

⁵³¹ Braun relies on G (reads ἔδωκεν Δαυὶδ Σαλόμων) to suggest David as the subject: Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 267.

⁵³² Klein follows G and interprets as “since YHWH’s hand was upon him”, and makes it not as David’s direct speech: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 516. Knoppers retains “upon me” and makes 28:19 as David’s direct speech. He further argues that does not go with : Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 923.

⁵³³ Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 525 n.66.

⁵³⁴ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 931.

⁵³⁵ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 202–203.

⁵³⁶ Robson, *Word*, 88–90.

seems imprecise and it is hard to make a single choice. However, both readings support the mediating role of celestial forces emanating from YHWH. Therefore, in 28:12 indicates that was a heavenly template inspired by YHWH through the mediation of .

Second, the ideas of “template” () and “chariot” () in 28:18 are more conceptual than physical. deals more with a *general* plan than with measurable elements such as “measurement” () in Ezek 43:10-12 (cf. Section 1.1).

comes from Ezekiel’s chariot throne of YHWH in Ezek 10. The Chronicler probably knows the tradition of the chariot-throne and its significance for the exile and understands it as a concept rather than as a concrete entity, because he uses the conceptual in construct state to modify . Therefore, and should not be good candidates for “gold” () to modify because of their conceptual (or abstract) nature. “Cherubim” should be the appropriate candidate,⁵³⁷ because we find in 2Chr 3:10 (and in 1Kgs 6:28) that this object was overlaid with gold. “Cherubim” should be in apposition to . should be the attribute accusative of determination of “cherubim”.⁵³⁸ Since was the purest element in the temple, the

of the chariot-throne should be the most sacred part, symbolising YHWH’s enthronement (or presence) in the heavenly court. Again, the Chronicler fuses different traditions (Ezekiel’s chariot-throne, cherubim spreading their wings, the ark of YHWH in Exod 25:19-20 with YHWH “enthroned in cherubim”) together in one verse to express his high concern for the divine presence in the earthly temple as in the heavenly court. These traditional elements should not be understood as measurable entities, but rather as general categories, which were to be realised on the earth.

Finally, the problems of (3) and (4) should be handled together. Textually

⁵³⁷ Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 526–527.

⁵³⁸ JM §127c.

speaking, the reading of *וְכָל* in MT (28:19) is to be preferred over *וְכָל* in the G, because all other witnesses support MT. Then, 28:19 should be David's direct speech. The expression "YHWH's hand upon me" is a stereotypical formula in Ezek 1:3; 8:1; 40:1, beginning his threefold vision of God. We can reasonably think that the Chronicler may have used this idiomatic expression to express the significance of the heavenly template, in a manner similar to that in Ezekiel's vision of God. The preposition *בְּ* in *וְכָל* should be read as causative "since",⁵³⁹ so that the phrase "since YHWH's hand was upon me" becomes a dependent clause, attaching the main clause with the main verb *וַיִּכְתֹּב*. Then the subject of *וַיִּכְתֹּב* is "writing" (*כְּתוּבָה*), and thus the translation is "all this in the writing, since YHWH's hand was upon me, *which* made clear all the works of the template" (*וְכָל*).

Knoppers provides an interesting reading of *וְכָל*, denoting a Levitical practice of interpretation (or translation) so that people could make sense out of the written *Torah* (Neh 8:8).⁵⁴⁰ One role of the Levites in the Persian period was believed to "increase discretion" (*וְכָל*) of the Jewish people by interpreting the *Torah*. In 28:19, the heavenly template is the object of *וַיִּכְתֹּב*. In a manner of speaking, it is comparable to the written *Torah*:⁵⁴¹ it required interpretation (offered by *וְכָל*?) before David could understand it.

Therefore, the temple was believed to have arisen from a divinely inspired template that was to be faithfully realised by Solomon, constructing the earthly temple in synchronisation with the heavenly realm.⁵⁴² The Chronicler employs various

⁵³⁹ GKC §119z. Reading *וְכָל* as "from" would spoil the integrity of the idiomatic expression, because "from YHWH's hand" would then attach itself to "writing", and "upon me" is separated from that word.

⁵⁴⁰ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 935.

⁵⁴¹ "The Authorisation Formula" in relation to David's authority only occurs in 1Chr 28:19, because of the reference to David's "writing": De Vries, "Moses and David," 626. David's "writing" thus holds almost the same authority as the law of Moses in cultic matters. Cf. Riley, *King and Cultus*, 63, 82.

⁵⁴² Riley, *King and Cultus*, 83–87.

traditions for this distinctive presentation, in which the chariot-throne of the cherubim occupies the centre as a symbol of the divine presence on earth as in heaven. Within his presentation, the mediating roles of an inspiring spirit and revelatory writing become prominent. We thus see how the Chronicler configures his presentation of the earthly temple with numerous ideas contained in the concept of the temple as realised template in order to upgrade the primacy of the temple.

4.3.3. The Temple as the Place Reaching the Heaven: 2Chr 3:1-5:1

2Chr 3:1-5:1 offers a distinctive description of the temple structure and furniture. First, the Chronicler makes great efforts to fuse difficult lines of tradition at the opening of the episode (3:1). We can sense at least three themes: (1) “in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah” (), (2) “where he [YHWH] appeared to David” (), and (3) “on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite” ().

Themes (1) and (2) direct us to the place where Abraham experienced a test to bind Isaac (Gen 22:2), but God provided a lamb for burnt-offering instead of Isaac, and Abraham named “the place” () as “YHWH will see/provide” () “at the mountain of YHWH” () (Gen 22:14). Moberly argues that is an important clue for designating Moriah as Jerusalem, where YHWH could be seen.⁵⁴³ This also matches a prominent understanding of Jerusalem as the place of burnt-offering, which “is symbolic of Abraham’s self-sacrifice as a person who unreservedly fears God.”⁵⁴⁴ The Chronicler skilfully transfers these ideas into the opening of Solomon’s temple by designating the temple site, where David also saw YHWH (1Chr 21:16; cf. Gen 22:14)⁵⁴⁵ and performed authentic burnt-offerings in

⁵⁴³ R.W.L. Moberly, *The Bible, Theology, and Faith: A Study of Abraham and Jesus* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 110–112. Cf. Williamson, *Chronicles*, 204.

⁵⁴⁴ Moberly, *The Bible*, 118.

⁵⁴⁵ David actually saw YHWH’s angel in 1Chr 21:16. The difference between “seeing YHWH” and “seeing YHWH’s angel” is minimal if we accept that is an “extension” of YHWH’s personality:

continuity with Abraham (1Chr 21:26; cf. Gen 22:13). Theme (3) makes clear that this temple site was on the threshing floor of Ornan (1Chr 21:18), the place where David saw YHWH's angel (1Chr 21:16) and claimed the site as YHWH's temple for regular burnt-offering (1Chr 22:1). As Williamson writes, the Chronicler

[L]ink[s] these three episodes [i.e. Gen 22; 1Chr 21; 2Chr 3] together in such a way as to emphasize the continuity of worship at this site and so indirectly to link the temple of his own day with some of the major religious leaders of Israel's past.⁵⁴⁶

We thus see a cluster of topographical references that point toward the divine-human encounters of David and Abraham being used to designate the temple site as the place of burnt-offering and the vision of YHWH.⁵⁴⁷

Why should the temple be built on a mountain? One reasonable answer is that the mountain had a symbolic significance as the meeting place between heaven and earth, as attested in Mesopotamian temple ideologies and Israelite traditions (cf. Sections 2.4.2, 3.1.3, and 4.2.2.2). Jarick notices that Kings does not “explicitly state that the temple is on any hill at all”,⁵⁴⁸ while Chronicles does. This marked difference discloses a special interest in a mountain as the temple site in Chronicles (there is also the explicit reference in 2Chr 33:15). The prevailing concept of a “world mountain” in Mesopotamia would provide insights into the Chronicler's intra-Jewish reinterpretation of Israelite traditions, in which “mountain” was reaffirmed in the Chronicler's configuration. His depiction of mountain imagery should not be conceived as an unimportant gloss but as a symbolically powerful designation of the temple as the place reaching the heavens, the place where YHWH was seen, and the place of burnt-offering.

Aubrey Rodway Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961), 30–33.

⁵⁴⁶ Williamson, “Temple,” 156.

⁵⁴⁷ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:316–317.

⁵⁴⁸ John Jarick, *2 Chronicles*, RNBC (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 17.

Another symbolic marker is the tower-like porch, 120 cubits high (3:4):

וְהָאוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֹרֶךְ עַל־פְּנֵי רִחְב־הַבַּיִת אֲמֹת עֶשְׂרִים וְהַגֹּבֶה מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים

The porch, which was before the length⁵⁴⁹ and before the width of the temple, was twenty cubits, and the height was one hundred and twenty.⁵⁵⁰

He overlaid it from inside with pure gold.

Almost all commentators think that it is impossible for the first or second temple to have been such a tall building, and many of them resort to explaining this as a textual corruption.⁵⁵¹ Textually speaking, only minor witnesses come against MT (see footnote 550). MT is undoubtedly to be preferred. The reason for the commentators to see the tower-like structure as unlikely seems to be more an issue of the huge discrepancy with the height indicated in 1Kgs 6:2 (30 cubits). Though the tower-like structure might be impossible *physically*, it may not be entirely impossible *symbolically*. Jarick contends, “[A] temple so conceived, a structure which reaches far higher than the extent of its length or breadth, expresses something that is dear to the hearts of many who conceptualize a space for divine-human encounter.”⁵⁵² He also picks up the symbolic meaning of the high tower with reference to the tower of Babel (Gen 11:4),⁵⁵³ a tower similar to the gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki, in Babylon (cf. Section 2.4.2). The Jewish experience of Etemenanki during the exile would have added insights to the intra-Jewish reflection of the symbolic meaning of the Jerusalem temple, so that the Chronicler probably reaffirmed the idea in order to increase the

⁵⁴⁹ A width might be missing according to S and Arabic, or the whole phrase might be missing as reflected in G-1Kgs 6:3. Nevertheless, this is too weak textually to suggest an emendation. MT is to be preferred.

⁵⁵⁰ One G-manuscript, S, and Arabic read “twenty cubits”.

⁵⁵¹ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 206; Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, WBC 15 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1987), 26; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 553; Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 42–43, 47; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 324–325.

⁵⁵² Jarick, *2 Chronicles*, 12.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 13.

symbolic significance of the first temple, which indirectly increased the authenticity of the second temple. If we interpret this tower-like structure within this context, it is not entirely impossible for the Chronicler to exaggerate the height by four times, in order to convey the symbolic meaning of the temple as the place reaching the heaven.

Third, the Chronicler presents the temple as full of gold using a variety of adjectives such as “pure” () (3:4), “good” () (3:5, 8), and “gold of Parvaim” () (3:6).⁵⁵⁴ Solomon lined the Holy of Holies with 600 talents of gold, a deliberate “comparable symbolism” with 1Chr 21:25,⁵⁵⁵ which probably symbolised the complete reparation of with the finest material for all Israel (cf. p.180). The finest material seems to be an element of the symbolism of the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:11-12) designating the temple as the place of divine source of life and paradise. Two golden cherubim (3:10-12) probably represent “their role as protectors of the unapproachableness of God”⁵⁵⁶ in Gen 3:24 and echo the chariot-throne (1Chr 28:18), symbolising the divine presence. The two pillars Jachin and Boaz (3:15-17) probably symbolised divine power and blessing.⁵⁵⁷ The striking difference between the height of these pillars (35 cubits) in 3:15-17 and that in 1Kgs 7:15 (18 cubits) may infer a symbolic designation of the divine power from heaven. The Sea and the ten lavers (4:2-6) symbolised divine victory over the powers of chaos.⁵⁵⁸ Dillard sees water as symbolising “threatening waters” and “cleansing and purification”,⁵⁵⁹ so that worshippers would have been reminded how God won the primeval battle with chaos and turned chaos into a source of purification for priests (Exod 30:18-19). Regarding the molten Sea, Ego writes:

⁵⁵⁴ For Parvaim, see Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 28–29. For the symbolism of gold related to God’s presence, divinity, and holiness, see Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 102–103.

⁵⁵⁵ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 208–209. Cf. Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 142.

⁵⁵⁶ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:319.

⁵⁵⁷ See footnote 493.

⁵⁵⁸ As in Mesopotamian temples: Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 61.

⁵⁵⁹ Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 35.

Aber auch die Lotosform dieses Beckens ist als Bedeutungsträger aufzufassen: Da sich diese Blüte am Morgen öffnet und am Abend wieder schließt, fungierte sie als Symbol der Schöpfung und der Spendung des Lebens. Wenn dieses Becken zudem explizit mit dem Begriff bezeichnet wird, so ist anzunehmen, daß die dort enthaltenen Wasser das Urmeer repräsentieren, das gebändigt und von Gott in kosmische, lebensbringende Wasser verwandelt wurde.⁵⁶⁰

The Sea, a life-giving symbol, thus transformed the chaotic flood into stability and fertility. The surrounding bulls in Babylon (cf. Section 3.1.2) are similar to the twelve bulls (4:3-4), symbolising the fertility of the twelve tribes in twelve months.⁵⁶¹ We thus see how the Chronicler incorporates different ideas from the Garden of Eden in his temple architecture in order to designate the temple as the source of life.

Furthermore, the Chronicler describes some items that had also been important in the tabernacle, such as the cherubim (3:10-13; cf. Exod 25:18-20), curtain (3:14; cf. Exod 26:31), altar (4:1; cf. Exod 30:1-10), lavers (4:6; cf. Exod 30:18-21), lampstands (4:7; cf. Exod 25:31-37), and tables (4:8; cf. Exod 25:23-29).⁵⁶² These highlight a continuity between the temple and the tabernacle that promotes the authenticity of this temple. This probably served the theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community, and the insights obtained in the exilic experience probably influenced intra-Jewish reinterpretations of the Garden of Eden and the tabernacle traditions so that the ideas surrounding them were reaffirmed in Chronicles.

Finally, there is a special description of the bronze altar in the Chronicler's *Sondergut* in 4:1. Johnstone says, "As the place where the material offerings rose in smoke to the sky, it was the point where the meeting of the physical and spiritual was symbolized."⁵⁶³ This altar is thus a central figure of the meeting of the heaven and

⁵⁶⁰ Beate Ego, "Die Wasser der Gottesstadt: Zu einem Motiv der Zionstradition und seinen kosmologischen Implikationen," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 383.

⁵⁶¹ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:323.

⁵⁶² Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 44; Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 143–144.

⁵⁶³ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:323.

earth envisaged by 1Chr 21:26.⁵⁶⁴ We know that the same heavenly fire came down in 2Chr 7:1 to consume the burnt-offering during the inauguration of the temple, and this bronze altar was surely the central place for experiencing a direct presence of God within the context of the temple as realised template (cf. Chapter Seven).

4.4. Conclusion

The concept of the temple as realised template should probably be seen as one of the Chronicler's central pre-understandings for his description of the temple. This claim is justified from a historical-cultural viewpoint in which the citizen-temple community was seen as nurturing the emergence of this concept.

Furthermore, the Chronicler's use of language reflects his pre-understanding of the concept. We know that this is culturally probable, sociologically reasonable, and theologically verifiable. Most importantly, the concept encapsulates a cluster of ideas that are dominant in various parts of the HB and in wider Mesopotamian temple ideologies. A wide circulation of these ideas in Jewish scribal circles, influenced by the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context, would have inevitably affected the Chronicler's pre-understanding and his hermeneutical situation. Such ideas in are common, though they are allusively incorporated and blended within the storyline.

The temple in Chronicles was believed to be the place in which wrath was averted, a place arising from a divine template, and a place that reached heaven and became the source of life. This ideal may not reflect the reality of both the first and second temples, but it conveys a utopia (e.g. in the tower-like structure).⁵⁶⁵ Behind this utopian portrayal, we can conclude that the Chronicler, as Williamson writes, "was determined by sociological and political as much as by theological factors, each

⁵⁶⁴ Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 117–118.

⁵⁶⁵ Schweitzer, *Utopia*. Cf. Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 136–147.

faction presented an ideology of the temple to bolster [his] broader programme.”⁵⁶⁶

The second temple probably looked insignificant and weak in its physical structure.⁵⁶⁷ The citizen-temple community continually encountered challenges from their Babylonian-Persian oppressors. In such a situation, the Chronicler painstakingly incorporated the ideas from intra-Jewish traditions and reinterpreted them to address the theological, social, and political challenges. He picked up the ongoing reflection on the Jewish exilic experience, from which insights obtained in the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context would have been helpful to reinforce the ideological significance of the temple in defiance of the Babylonian-Persian surroundings. He wanted this literary temple to bring hope to the citizen-temple community in its identity making (cf. Section 3.2).

The Chronicler’s presentation of the temple provides a theological frame of reference for understanding the Levitical singers within the worship system of the temple. If the Jerusalem earthly temple represented the heavenly temple, then maintaining the liturgical service in the temple can be understood as symbolically fostering the stability of the world based on the global governance of the heavenly God. But the sort of stability should be carefully defined. I shall argue in Chapter Five that this stability can be understood as “covenantal stability”, in which promoting the necessary conditions of the Davidic covenant was the primary task of Levitical singers.

⁵⁶⁶ Williamson, “Temple,” 161.

⁵⁶⁷ See footnote 579.

5. Prophecy for Covenantal Stability: Music and Prophecy in the Educational Context of Levitical Singers

The contextual reading of the Chronicler's temple in the last chapter showed the need for the service of Levitical singers to be understood within the temple as realised template. In the coming chapters, I wish to show the threefold role of Levitical singers – educational, scribal, and liturgical – in promoting the stability of Israel and the whole world within the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template. The particular contribution of this study is an understanding of the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in relation to the social, political, and theological agendas of the citizen-temple community and the prominence of music in the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context. Not only was the theological significance of the temple enhanced but also the social status and the professional profiles of Levites were upgraded to be comparable with those of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers.

In this chapter, I wish to show that the education of Levitical singers sought to train musicians to prophesy and play music for the purposes of fostering covenantal stability. The Chronicler has a special concept of “covenant” in mind: if Judah's kings maintained a lifestyle conformed to YHWH's covenant with David, then YHWH would probably give them rest as the sign of worldwide stability. Otherwise, they would experience God's wrath, with pestilence, famine, and war as the signs of instability. Levites had to teach the *Torah*, the code of conduct of the covenant, so that the Israelites would not incur wrath. Levitical singers had to prophesy under David's direction, in order to preach the message of repentance to the covenantal community, encouraging the Israelites to seek God. In order to make this vocation possible, Levitical singers would have experienced father-son apprenticeships that built a

continuity of succession and thereby fostered covenantal stability over generations. I demonstrate this in this chapter.

First, I briefly discuss some preliminary considerations, such as cultic prophets, prophecy and psalmody, and the concept of covenant, in order to set the discussion in context. Second, I offer a detailed exegesis of 1Chr 25:1-8 in light of the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. I argue that the father-son apprenticeship system, inaugurated under David's direction, sought to establish stable Levitical guilds with sufficient singing, teaching, and prophetic capacities for fostering covenantal stability. Finally, I offer an exposition of 2Chr 20:1-30 to show how these capacities allowed Levitical singers to restore the well-being of Israel in practice.

5.1. Prophecy and Psalmody

Earlier research into the relationship between prophecy and psalmody focused on “cultic prophets” in explaining the roles of prophets within cultic settings, using a form-critical approach or ANE comparison as the prevailing methodology. The central issue was whether cultic prophets, which were seen as prophetic and non-priestly functionaries employed by cults in the pre-exilic period, were responsible for composing any of the psalms by following certain *Gattungen*.⁵⁶⁸ Recent research takes a more sceptical view of cultic prophets. The form-critical method has limitations when it comes to discovering the *Sitz im Leben* through forms or genres⁵⁶⁹ because the history of prophets in cults still contains many unbridgeable gaps, which means that their life-setting is unverifiable. Even though some prophetic psalms did

⁵⁶⁸ For a recent survey, see John W. Hilber, *Cultic Prophecy in the Psalms*, BZAW 352 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 1–39.

⁵⁶⁹ Walter Brueggemann, “Response to James L. Mays, ‘The Question of Context’,” in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSS 159 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 31; Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody*, 9–21; Steven J.L. Croft, *The Identity of the Individual in the Psalms*, JSOTSS 44 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 152–153; Jonathan Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: A Philological and Sociological Comparison*, CHANE 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 209–211.

arise from cultic prophets, their transmission would have undergone several layers of recontextualisation, so that they would have been gradually freed from their original life-setting.⁵⁷⁰ Thus the theory of cultic prophets remains notoriously hypothetical. Since our knowledge about pre-exilic cultic prophets is so incomplete, it is unwise to emphasise the continuity between cultic prophets and Levitical singers.⁵⁷¹

Our research into Levitical singers in Chronicles, against the background of the citizen-temple community, allows us to ask different questions about the relationship between music and prophecy in Chronicles. The earlier approach asks whether the pre-exilic cultic setting involved any prophetic composition of psalms and whether the post-exilic Levitical singers took over the pre-exilic cultic prophets. My approach rather examines the Chronicler's reinterpretation of intra-Jewish traditions and his ideological perspective in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers context. Therefore, the problem of the life-setting of cultic prophets is marginal in this study.

5.2. Prophecy and Covenant in Chronicles

Prophecy and covenant are two important components in Chronicles. During the Chronicler's time, Jews had already undergone the so-called "decline of prophecy".⁵⁷² Earlier research suggested that lively and spontaneous prophecy ended with the fall of the monarchy. Recent studies have arrived at a growing consensus that prophecy did not end but experienced a radical transition. Petersen thinks that "we should perhaps

⁵⁷⁰ Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM, 1979), 508–517.

⁵⁷¹ Some scholars maintain a direct continuity: Williamson, *Chronicles*, 166; Myers, *I Chronicles*, 171; Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, 69–75; Sigmund Mowinckel, "Cult and Prophecy," in *Prophecy in Israel: Search for Identity*, trans. James L. Schaaf, IRT 10 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 90. Others speak of "transformation" rather than "direct continuity": Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: From the Settlement in the Land to the Hellenistic Period* (London: SPCK, 1984), 254; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 858; David L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*, SBLMS 23 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 62.

⁵⁷² For a helpful survey, see Schniedewind, *Transition*, 12–22. This study does not trace the prophetic group(s) behind the text but simply affirms a general understanding of the post-exilic prophecy in the literary text.

speak of the transition from classical prophecy to an organically connected but profoundly different enterprise.”⁵⁷³ Blenkinsopp speaks of “a shift from direct revelation through the person of the prophet to revelation accruing from the inspired interpretation of biblical texts”,⁵⁷⁴ and “a progressive scribalization of prophecy.”⁵⁷⁵ Manson contends that “post-exilic prophecy becomes increasingly derivative and takes on more the nature of exegesis, the reinterpretation and reapplication of the earlier ‘authoritative’ word.”⁵⁷⁶ Schniedewind argues that Chronicles witnesses to the transformation of prophecy from pre-exilic oracular prophecy to a post-exilic, inspired interpretation of traditions.⁵⁷⁷ Therefore, we have much refined research suggesting that inspired interpretations of traditions was a popular kind of post-exilic prophecy.

Although this consensus is well-developed, the socio-ideological motivation for the Chronicler to configure this understanding of prophecy into his storyline has been less explained. The decline of classical prophecy presented a serious problem for the citizen-temple community. They would probably ask why God’s word was not at work as it had been during or before the exile. The Chronicler took up the challenge of this question and attempted to show the continuity of prophecy by describing the prophetic gift in the guilds of Levitical singers and by claiming their prophetic activities in terms of David’s authority.⁵⁷⁸

Several sociological studies show that the second temple would have been a small temple (because of the small population of Yehud and insufficient funding for

⁵⁷³ Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 6.

⁵⁷⁴ Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 129.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁵⁷⁶ Rex Mason, “The Prophets of the Restoration,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins, Anthony Philips, and Michael Knibb (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), 142.

⁵⁷⁷ Schniedewind, *Transition*.

⁵⁷⁸ Harry V. van Rooy, “Prophet and Society in the Persian Period According to Chronicles,” in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, Tamara C. Eskenazi, and Kent Harold Richards, vol. 2, JSOTSS 175 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 176–179.

rebuilding the temple),⁵⁷⁹ or at least that it was not as big as the Chronicler's temple. This small temple probably became an embarrassment when compared with the huge temples in the Babylonian-Persian surroundings (e.g. the Marduk temple in Babylon mentioned in Section 3.1.3). How could Jewish leaders persuade others that YHWH was an imperial and global God, comparable to Marduk, with such a small temple in reality? The Chronicler, again, responded to this challenge by exaggerating the construction and symbolism of the first temple (cf. Section 4.3) in order to inspire a theological hope that YHWH was still in control. "Temple as realised template" then became one of the rhetorical devices for such an argument.⁵⁸⁰ It is thus highly probable that the Chronicler's temple and its cult did not completely reflect the reality of the first and second temples but a "better alternative reality", in a utopian manner.⁵⁸¹ In this sense, prophecy became an indispensable literary device by which to affirm YHWH's dominion. His Levitical singers prophesied regularly and dynamically, through chanting and reinterpreting traditions, in order to proclaim YHWH's global rule and to address socio-political issues in defiance of the Babylonian-Persian surroundings.

The theme of covenant in Chronicles has constantly attracted scholarly interest. One debate has been whether the Davidic covenant involved an eschatological (or messianic) dimension⁵⁸² or not.⁵⁸³ Another aspect has been whether the real Davidic promise was merely manifested in the temple⁵⁸⁴ or if it included the Davidic dynasty

⁵⁷⁹ Carter, *Yehud*, 214–248; Grabbe, *Yehud*, 30; Charles E. Carter, "The Province of Yehud in the Post-Exilic Period: Soundings in Site Distribution and Demography," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, Tamara C. Eskenazi, and Kent Harold Richards, vol. 2, JSOTSS 175 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 139–145.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. Rodney K. Duke, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis*, JSOTSS 88 (Sheffield: Almod P., 1990).

⁵⁸¹ Schweitzer, *Utopia*. Perhaps, there is an overlap between ideal and reality: Joachim Schaper, "Priestly Purity and Social Organisation in Persian Period Judah," *BN* 118 (2003): 54.

⁵⁸² Von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 119–132; Kelly, *Retribution*, 156–185.

⁵⁸³ Japhet, *Ideology*, 384–393; Riley, *King and Cultus*, 174–175.

⁵⁸⁴ Riley, *King and Cultus*, 96, 175, 182; Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 82–124.

and the *Torah* as well.⁵⁸⁵ However, the centrality of the figure of the Jerusalem temple in relation to the Davidic covenant has been less controversial. A synoptic view of 1Chr 17:14//2Sam 7:16 allows us to see their relationship:

1Chr 17:14

2Sam 7:16

וְנִאֲמַר בְּיָתְךָ וּבְמִלְכֻתְךָ עַד־עוֹלָם לְפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה

But I shall confirm him in *my house* and *Your house* and *your kingdom* will be in *my kingdom* forever, and his throne confirmed forever before you. Your will be established forever. throne will be established forever.

Many commentators notice the Chronicler's preference for ascribing the Davidic covenant to the well-being of YHWH's temple ("my house" in 1Chr 17:14) instead of the Davidic dynasty ("your house" in 2Sam 7:16).⁵⁸⁶ This emphasis of YHWH's temple, within the intrinsic terms of the Davidic covenant, forms the theological basis for understanding the Chronicler's temple. As many agree, the conditions reflected in 1Chr 28:3-10 and 2Chr 7:12-22 also constitute the intrinsic terms of the Davidic covenant.⁵⁸⁷ If we accept that the Chronicler configures the temple according to the pre-understanding of the temple as realised template, then the conditions (1Chr 28:3-10; 2Chr 7:12-22) of the Davidic covenant can be understood as the key factor in enabling the fortune of the whole world and the stability of YHWH's temple,⁵⁸⁸ because the symbolisam of "covenant" was intrinsic to the temple.

The temple was the "house of rest for the ark of *covenant* of YHWH" (

) (1Chr 28:2).⁵⁸⁹ The heavenly template reserved the golden chariot of

⁵⁸⁵ Tiño, *King and Temple*; Kelly, *Retribution*.

⁵⁸⁶ Kelly, *Retribution*, 157–158; Riley, *King and Cultus*, 183; Dennis J. McCarthy, "Covenant and Law in Chronicles-Nehemiah," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 26; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 335; Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 82–124.

⁵⁸⁷ Kelly, *Retribution*, 156–167.

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. Riley, *King and Cultus*, 87–97, 180–185.

⁵⁸⁹ 1Chr 28:2 explicitly characterises the temple as the resting place (i.e. the place of stability) in relation to covenant, forming a symbolic antonym to "war": Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 94–101.

the cherubim as a covering the ark of *covenant* of YHWH (1Chr 28:18). The covenant and the temple thus formed a symbolic matrix for the full realisation of the heavenly template (1Chr 28:11-19). We also see in Solomon's prayer, YHWH's faithfulness in keeping covenant; no other deities in heaven or on earth can be compared with him (2Chr 6:14-15; cf. Neh 9:32). Therefore, the Chronicler probably recontextualises the Davidic covenant within the symbolic structure of the temple as realised template so that enabling the covenantal conditions (1Chr 28:3-10; 2Chr 7:12-22) was believed to have a chance to produce rest and peace, and violating the conditions was seen to incur guilt and wrath.

Based on the above considerations, I now turn to reading the prophecies of Levitical singers (1Chr 25:1-8; 2Chr 20:1-30) within this covenantal framework.

5.3. Music and Prophecy in 1 Chronicles 25:1-8

1Chr 23-27 illustrates David's preparation of the temple personnel (priests and Levites) for the temple service. 1Chr 25 especially describes the watch system of Levitical singers. First, I offer my translation of 1Chr 25:1-8. Second, I attempt to read 1Chr 25:1-8 in light of the Mesopotamian professional norms and practices. I argue that the prophecy of these singers, singing according to David's direction, sought to foster worldwide stability in covenantal terms in three steps: (1) David "set apart" *from* the Levites the top stratum of the singers, who were comparable to the learned scholar-singers of Mesopotamia (1Chr 25:1); (2) David "set apart" the Levites *for* prophesying under his direction (1Chr 25:1-6); and (3) David systematised them in father-son apprenticeships, which were comparable to the Mesopotamian educational system *for* the long-term and regular establishment of the watch system (1Chr 25:7-8).

5.3.1. Translation

- 25:1 David set apart,⁵⁹⁰ together with the chiefs of the army, for the service the sons⁵⁹¹ of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun,⁵⁹² who prophesied⁵⁹³ with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals. And this was their list,⁵⁹⁴ the persons of the work for their service:
- 25:2 Of the sons of Asaph: Zaccur, Joseph, Nethaniah, and Asarelah.⁵⁹⁵ The sons of Asaph were under the direction of⁵⁹⁶ Asaph, who prophesied⁵⁹⁷ under the directions of the king.
- 25:3 Of Jeduthun, the sons of Jeduthun: Gedaliah, Zeri,⁵⁹⁸ Jeshaiiah, Shimei,⁵⁹⁹ Hashabiah, and Mattithiah – six *persons*. They were upon the directions of their father Jeduthun, who

⁵⁹⁰ G reads יִשְׁ “and he stood”, a haplography from יִשְׁ “and he separated”.

⁵⁹¹ in is an indicator of the accusative: JM §125k.

⁵⁹² G reads יְדֻתָּן “Jedithum” (as if יְדֻתָּן). See *kethib* at Neh 11:17 and G’s renderings in vv.3, 6: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473.

⁵⁹³ Reading with the *qere*, יְדֻתָּן; original *kethib* might be יְדֻתָּן. The first *yodh* in יְדֻתָּן “probably comes from a detached stroke from *aleph*”: Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 151 n2. G, V_g, T_g, and Mss support the *qere* reading. G reads יְדֻתָּן μὲν “those who give an inspired utterance”, which supports a participle reading with a general meaning of “prophesy” inspired by the spirit (cf. Acts 2:4, 14).

⁵⁹⁴ G adds יְדֻתָּן יְדֻתָּן “according to their heads”, while G^{La1} reflects יְדֻתָּן יְדֻתָּן ρῶ “according to the heads of men”. G might be influenced by 1Chr 23:3: GC, 2:62. MT is to be preferred.

⁵⁹⁵ Only Mss read אֲשָׁרֵל “Asarel these four”. MT is to be preferred. *Contra* Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473; Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 302.

⁵⁹⁶ Literally, “under the hand(s) of”, as the cases in 25:3, 6.

⁵⁹⁷ G (and Mss) reads the title יְדֻתָּן “the prophet”. MT agrees with the *qere* reading in 25:1 and is to be preferred.

⁵⁹⁸ 25:11 reads לְיִזְרִי “to Izri”.

⁵⁹⁹ Inserted אֲשָׁרֵל here to coincide with 25:17 and the number “six”. Ms, G, and Arabic support this reading: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473; Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 242; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 277.

prophesied⁶⁰⁰ with the lyre for thanksgiving and praising to YHWH.

25:4 Of Heman, the sons of Heman: Bukkiah, Mattaniah, Uzziel,⁶⁰¹ Shubael,⁶⁰² Jerimonth,⁶⁰³ Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth.

25:5 All these were the sons belonging to Heman, the seer of the king,⁶⁰⁴ according to the words of God⁶⁰⁵ to raise up a horn.⁶⁰⁶ And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters.

25:6 All these were under the directions of their father with the song in the house of YHWH with cymbals, harps, and lyres for the service of the house of God⁶⁰⁷ under the directions of the king (Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman).⁶⁰⁸

25:7 This was their number, with their brothers, who were taught of the song to YHWH, all those who

⁶⁰⁰ G reads ἄ όμ “striking up music”.

⁶⁰¹ G reads “Azarel”, cf. 25:18: . Rudolph observes that “Ussia und Asarja als Namen desselben Königs”, so that Uzziel and Azarel can be the same person: Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 166.

⁶⁰² Reading with G “Shubael” (), supported by 1Chr 24:20; 25:10: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473.

⁶⁰³ 25:22 reads “to Jeremoth”.

⁶⁰⁴ G reads ᾠδὴ μέφ ᾠ ἱ “the royal musician”.

⁶⁰⁵ I translate this “the words of God” instead of “divine affairs”, see Section 5.3.3.2.

⁶⁰⁶ No manuscript supports the reading “his horn”. *Contra* Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473; Steven L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004), 196.

⁶⁰⁷ Only G lacks “for the service of the house of God”. MT is to be preferred.

⁶⁰⁸ G puts a copula before the three names, an attempt to make the text easier. The phrase might be “ursprünglich Randglosse” to “all these”: Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 166. But “all these” should refer to Heman’s sons: Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 246; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 483; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 278; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 445.

were skilful: two hundred eighty and eight.

25:8 They cast the lots of⁶⁰⁹ watch, corresponding to watch,⁶¹⁰ the small and the great alike, teacher (one who is skilful) with pupil.

5.3.2. David “Set Apart” (1Chr 25:1)

David was the key figure in the inauguration and organisation of Levitical singers. He “set apart” ()⁶¹¹ three guilds of Levitical singers from the “divisions” () of priests and Levites. This is remarkable, since only Aaronites and Levitical singers were “set apart” (23:13; 25:1). This verb has been used for separating Levites from other people (Num 8:14; 16:9; Deut 10:8) for the “service” ().⁶¹² Num 8:24 further qualifies that they were separated “to serve the duty in the service of the tent of meeting” (). The Chronicler thus uses vocabulary from Num 8 (, ,) to establish that the organisation of musicians was “parallel in every detail to that of priests and Levites, with the emphasis on the Davidic initiative for this parallel system.”⁶¹³

In the literary world (1Chr 24-25), we find a detailed and well-organised picture of priests and singers with the coordinated watch system of twenty-four courses. Why was there such a prominence of music and singers that they deserved David’s “setting apart” as if Aaronites and Levitical singers were of equal significance? I suggest that

⁶⁰⁹ Revocalised as to make it a construct (cf. G = ἰ ἔ μ ὦ): Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 243; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 483.

⁶¹⁰ T_g and Mss add after . T_g might interpret this difficult text by this insertion since the construct form of syntactically requires an absolute noun. This can be regarded “as a truncated form of the stock expression” (1Chr 26:16; Neh 12:24): Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 58.

⁶¹¹ Cf. Carter, *Yehud*, 311–316; Schaper, “Priestly Purity,” 56.

⁶¹² For in Chronicles and P, see Robert Hayward, “Priesthood, Temple(s), and Sacrifice,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. John William Rogerson and Judith Lieu (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 326; Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1970), 60–87.

⁶¹³ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 444.

the identity making process of the citizen-temple community required the Aaronites to co-operate with the Levitical singers in order to upgrade the significance of the temple cult to compete with many surrounding temples, because music was highly esteemed in the wider Babylonian-Persian temple ideologies (cf. Section 3.2.2). The “setting apart” provided a social status equivalent to that of the Mesopotamian *kalû*-priests, because only well-qualified Babylonian scholar-singers could enter into specific (or “set apart”) training of *kalûtu* (Section 2.2.2). The Chronicler could then fashion these singers as elite professionals in order to legitimise the cultural and theological significance of their temple worship. This may explain the motivation for the Aaronites to co-operate with Levitical singers under David’s authority.

5.3.3. Prophesying According to the Directions of David (1Chr 25:1-6)

The Chronicler not only ascribes the inauguration of the organisation of Levitical singers to David’s authority but also features these singers as being “set apart” *for* prophesying under the direction of David and the three heads – Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun (1Chr 25:2-3, 6). This is remarkable, because the Chronicler only assigns prophecy, as a long-term and regular establishment, to the three guilds of Levitical singers. How do we comprehend this assignment? What is the relationship between music and prophecy? What does “to prophesy under the directions of David” mean?

5.3.3.1. *An Inspired Interpretation of Traditions*

The exact relationship between music and prophecy seems unclear. It is unlikely that musicians used music to induce ecstatic utterance in instances recorded in 1Sam 10:5-6 and 2Kgs 3:15-16. Nowhere does Chronicles describe prophecy as an isolated

phenomenon or as ecstasy.⁶¹⁴ If prophecy did not involve the musical inducement of ecstatic utterance, are there other choices?

One well-accepted view is that these musicians proclaimed traditions and teachings through the medium of music. As I have mentioned before (cf. Section 5.2), post-exilic prophecy can be generally classified as an inspired interpretation of traditions. Neh 8:7-8 illustrates the rise of *Torah*-teaching, in which Levites were seen as *Torah*-specialists, helping people to understand the Law, so that prophecy was increasingly conceived as *Torah*-teaching, preaching for repentance, or interpreting.⁶¹⁵ This literary picture, as Barton writes, “was certainly not controversial.”⁶¹⁶

According to Chronicles, Levites were *Torah*-teachers (2Chr 17:7-11). They were the composers of hymns (1Chr 16:8-36), and they were commanded to praise YHWH “with the words of David and Asaph” (2Chr 29:30) – an association that probably goes back to the inspirational hymn in 1Chr 16:8-36. Asaphites had to follow the authoritative commands of David and the three heads (2Chr 35:15). The psalm superscriptions ascribe various psalms to the three heads (Pss 39, 50, 62, 73-83, 88), and many of these psalms contain prophetic elements.⁶¹⁷

Some might argue that music and prophecy should strictly be seen as separate, either because the depiction in 25:1-6 only illustrates a “preparatory background”⁶¹⁸ for the apprenticeship of the sons of the three heads or because G attempts “to separate music from prophecy”.⁶¹⁹ However, if we understand 25:1-8 in light of the apprenticeship system of *kalûtu* and the Neo-Babylonian scribal education, we cannot

⁶¹⁴ Beentjes, *Tradition*, 129; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 196. Music in relation to ecstatic prophecy is not well supported by Mesopotamian evidence: Stökl, *Prophecy*, 211–215.

⁶¹⁵ John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel After the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), 154–161.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 167. Also R.E. Clements, *Prophecy and Tradition* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1975), 85.

⁶¹⁷ Hilber, *Cultic Prophecy*, 128–185.

⁶¹⁸ P.B. Dirksen, “Prophecy and Temple Music: 1Chron. 25:1-7,” *Henech* 19 (1997): 259–265.

⁶¹⁹ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 178.

see any dichotomy between music and the inspired interpretation of traditions. Rather, these reinterpreting activities can be classified as “prophetic”. Moreover, the G-text of 25:1-3 does deviate from MT in rendering (ὁ μέ in 25:1; ἡ in 25:2; ὁ οὐ in 25:3). The intention of G to separate music from prophecy is however overstated, because ὁ μέ can be used to signify “those who gave an inspired utterance”⁶²⁰ (cf. Acts 2:4, 14) instead of “those who uttered sounds”.⁶²¹ Therefore, the prophecy in 25:1-3 should be read as the inspired interpretation of traditions through the medium of music. The Chronicler may have aimed to promote an inspired interpretation of traditions in relation to music, a professional practice comparable to that of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers (cf. Section 2.3.3) in order to legitimise the prophetic significance of Levitical singers. This provides, as Blenkinsopp says, “a hint, therefore, of the idea recurring in different cultures and at different times that prophet and poet are essentially one.”⁶²²

5.3.3.2. *An Imitation of David as the Model of Prophet and Musician*

Once we affirm the close relationship between music and the inspired interpretation of traditions, we can further comprehend how the Levitical singers prophesied and sang “under the directions of the king (or David)” () (1Chr 25:2, 6). A hint for understanding is the figure of David as both prophet and musician, which is well-attested in Samuel (1Sam 16; 2Sam 23:1-2) and Chronicles (1Chr 28:11-19). 11QPs^a also explicitly links the prophetic gift of David to his psalm writing:

⁶²⁰ See footnote 593.

⁶²¹ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 178.

⁶²² Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 133–134.

And YHWH gave to him [David] a spirit of intelligence and understanding, and he wrote psalms: ... and the total was 4,050. All these he spoke according to the spirit of prophecy which was given to him before Elyon. (11QPs^a 27.3-4, 10-11)⁶²³

Chronicles does not illustrate as straightforward a prophetic figure of David as that in 11QPs^a. We encounter a rather complex typological transfer from the figure of Moses to the figure of David, such that the Chronicler portrays David as “the second Moses” by structuring the David-Solomon succession in line with the Moses-Joshua succession.⁶²⁴ David possessed the same title, “the man of God”, as Moses (2Chr 8:14).⁶²⁵ Their authorities went hand-in-hand in founding all temple affairs.⁶²⁶ The Chronicler may have thought of David as the legitimate person to fulfil the promise of Deut 18:18, which illustrates that YHWH will raise a prophet following Moses, the prophet *par excellence*.⁶²⁷

1Chr 28:11-19 probably illustrates a clear prophetic role of David.⁶²⁸ Since the Davidic covenant was the theological basis for the temple being built (1Chr 17:14), the realisation of (1Chr 28:11-19) manifested the fundamental covenantal relationship between YHWH and his people through the temple. Just as Moses received for building the tabernacle (Exod 25:9, 40), David received for building the temple. Just as Moses received the *Torah*, David received the writing from God’s hand (1Chr 28:19). Just as YHWH made a covenant with Moses (Exod 19), YHWH also made a covenant with David (1Chr 17). We thus see a typological

⁶²³ For the Hebrew text, see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsa)*, DJDJ 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 48.

⁶²⁴ H.G.M. Williamson, “The Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles,” *VT* 26 (1976): 351–361.

⁶²⁵ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 49–51.

⁶²⁶ De Vries, “Moses and David,” 619–639.

⁶²⁷ Tiño, *King and Temple*, 152.

⁶²⁸ David might not be classified as the title “prophet”, but his prophetic role seems clear: Schniedewind, *Transition*, 193–208. Scholars have agreed that David acted as a prophet: Raymond Jacques Tournay, *Seeing and Hearing God with the Psalms: The Prophetic Liturgy of the Second Temple in Jerusalem*, trans. J. Edward Crowley, JSOTSS 118 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 42–45; McCarthy, “Covenant,” 30; James L. Kugel, “David the Prophet,” in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 45–55.

transfer from the Mosaic covenant (together with its *Torah*, the prophetic figure of Moses, and priestly trumpets) to the Davidic covenant (together with its template, the prophetic figure of David, and Levitical musical instruments).⁶²⁹

With this typological transfer in mind, we can further understand how Levitical singers “prophesied under the directions of David”. Clement sees a wealth of classical prophetic traditions in the pre-Chronistic period as exhortations directing people back to the covenantal commitment of Sinai and Zion.⁶³⁰ The Chronicler would have recontextualised this understanding of prophecy into the person of David by setting a paradigm in David’s speech:

If you seek him (), he will be found by you; but if you forsake him (), he will abandon you forever. Look now, for YHWH has chosen you to build a temple as the sanctuary; be strong, and act ... Be strong and be brave, and act. Do not be afraid and dismayed (); for YHWH God, my God, is with you ().
(1Chr 28:9b-10, 20a)

David instructed Solomon about the necessary actions and attitudes towards the building of the temple. 1Chr 28:9-10, 20 become the conditions and exhortation necessary for enabling the well-being of the temple according to the Davidic covenant recited in 1Chr 28:3-8.⁶³¹ This conditionality, summarised as “seeking God”, was theologically central in Chronicles, because it built on the Davidic covenant on the one hand and tied in with the worldwide stability of the temple and the land (1Chr 28:8) on the other. It was thus *the* key of covenantal stability.

Subsequent prophets in Chronicles generally emphasised this paradigmatic key in delivering their inspired messages to avert wrath and foster peace. Shemaiah proclaimed, “You abandoned me, so I have abandoned you”, (2Chr 12:5) but when

⁶²⁹ Kelly, *Retribution*, 106–107; Tournay, *Seeing*, 31; Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 206–209; Tiño, *King and Temple*, 102–105.

⁶³⁰ Clements, *Prophecy and Tradition*; R.E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, SBT 43 (London: SCM Press, 1965).

⁶³¹ Cf. Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 103–104.

Rehoboam humbled himself, God's wrath was averted (2Chr 12:7). Azariah summoned Asa, "YHWH is with you, when you are with him. If you seek him, he will be found by you, but if you abandon him, he will abandon you" (2Chr 15:2). Zechariah warned Joash, "Because you have forsaken YHWH, he has also forsaken you" (2Chr 24:20). A man of God prophesied, "O you! Go and act; be strong in battle" (2Chr 25:8). Uzziah sought God in the instruction of Zechariah and God made him prosper (2Chr 26:5). We thus see how the prophets followed David's paradigm (1Chr 28:9-10, 20), prophesying in order to avert wrath and enable stability.

This was possible because David was described as having situated the temple firmly within a covenantal relationship between YHWH and his people and as having envisaged "seeking God" as the main paradigm in which to foster this relationship. Within this context, "prophesied under the directions of David" would have meant that Levitical singers were to summon all Israel to live a lifestyle of "seeking God", in order to promote its covenantal commitment in the temple worship and, thereby, to foster covenantal stability and to avert wrath. In this way, we can probably understand as an inspired interpretation of the Davidic covenantal traditions for summoning the people to trust in the divine promise. This can be verified by the content of the inserted psalms in 1Chr 16:8-36 and 2Chr 6:41-42, in which covenant is one of the main themes (see Chapter Six).

A hierarchical organisation was essential to the right practice of prophecy. First, David received a template from "the directions of YHWH" (1Chr 28:19). Second, the three Levitical chief-singers prophesied under "the directions of David" (1Chr 25:2). Third, all other musicians were taught to prophesy and make music under "the directions of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun" (1Chr 25:2, 3). We thus understand that enabling the conditions necessary for covenantal stability was a main goal of the prophecy of Levitical singers.

According to 1Chr 25:5, the sons of Heman were to lift up a horn according to God's word. Some scholars render _____ as "divine affairs" (cf. 1Chr 26:32).⁶³² I render it as "the words of God"⁶³³ (or "divine promise"), because Heman's title as "royal seer" requires us to interpret _____ as prophetic words received from God. This interpretation matches the overall subject matter of 1Chr 25:1-8. Since the Chronicler prefers the prophetic words mediated by David, the phrase _____ would be a gloss for "the word (or promise) to David" (2Chr 1:8-10), which is synonymous with the "Davidic covenant". In fact, a word study on "covenant" (_____) reveals that "word, promise" (_____) is often a synonym of "covenant".⁶³⁴ 1Chr 16:15 also shows that _____ and _____ are appositional. _____ should thus designate the prophetic words as having a close relationship with David's promise. The phrase "to lift up a horn" shows the purpose of Heman's prophetic office and symbolises success and strength (Lam 2:3; Pss 75:5-11; 89:18, 25; 92:11). Thus the purpose of prophecy was to foster the well-being or success of David and the Israelites.⁶³⁵

5.3.4. The Father-son Apprenticeship System (1Chr 25:7-8)

After designating the prophetic office of the Levitical singers (1Chr 25:1-6), the Chronicler presents a father-son apprenticeship system (1Chr 25:7-8); only the advanced singers could participate in this system as their sole prerogative among other temple clergies, as if music and prophecy were more formulaic than improvisatory. How should we interpret this special arrangement?

⁶³² Schniedewind, *Transition*, 179–180; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 850; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 278.

⁶³³ Following Williamson, *Chronicles*, 168; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 444; Johnson, *Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody*, 78; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 152.

⁶³⁴ " _____ "; TDOT, II:258-260.

⁶³⁵ Johnson, *Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody*, 264. Some interpret Heman's fourteen sons and three daughters as the sign of blessing symbolised by "lift a horn": Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 278; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 444; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 168.

The main theme of 1Chr 25:7-8 is not the father-son apprenticeship system as such but the preparation for the casting of lots among the 288 skilful men for the watch of the temple. However, the Chronicler probably sees the apprenticeship system as preparing the way for the watch system.⁶³⁶ The apprenticeship was the prerequisite that qualified a person for the watch. We can see how the selection and training process worked in the following diagram:

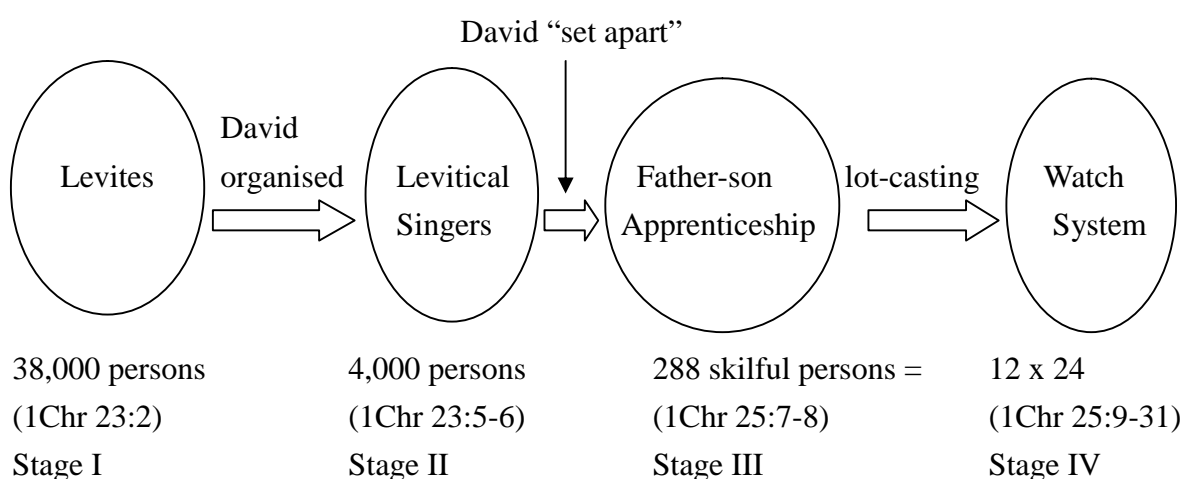


Figure 2: The Selection and Training Process of Levitical Singers

As can be seen, David's "setting apart" not only singled out the three guilds for prophecy and making music but also allowed them to enter into the apprenticeship system to be qualified for the watch. The number of persons was significantly scaled down from 4,000 to 288 (7.2%), or from 38,000 to 288 (0.76%). This obviously presents a hierarchical organisation, in which the 288 skilful men were advanced and trained for the watch, belonging to the top stratum of the class of Levitical singers and comparable to the Aaronites, based on the same arrangement of twenty-four courses (1Chr 24:7-18; 25:9-31).

According to 1Chr 25:7-8, the 288 skilful persons in stage III possessed two basic qualities. First, they were those "who were taught the song to YHWH" (). The root designates a wider educational context in the HB. Deut

⁶³⁶ Dirksen, "Prophecy," 261–262.

31 illustrates that Israelites should “learn” () both the *Torah* (31:12-13) and the Song of Moses (31:19, 22) for the purpose of “fearing God” and “witnessing the wickedness of the Israelites”. Some scholars believe that Deut 31:19-22 reflects how Israelite traditions were transmitted via an oral-written interface that resembled the Mesopotamian oral-written transmission practice.⁶³⁷ Music would also have acted as a mnemonic aid for the transmission, and Israelite scribes would have resembled their Mesopotamian counterparts in being considered as performers.⁶³⁸

While these scholars may provide a picture of the way in which the Israelite transmission of traditions generally resembled its Mesopotamian counterparts, I do not want to go into such details because this study does not trace the direction and the date of the influence. Rather, their achievements show that Israelites and Mesopotamians had already shared a general understanding of song and music in relation to the transmission of traditions before the exile. This common understanding would have been further intensified during the exile and return (see Chapter Three), so that the Chronicler would have wanted to reaffirm the concepts in Deut 31 in characterising the 288 skilful men as the tradents of “YHWH’s song” on a par with the Levites in the time of Moses. This characterisation resembles how *kalû*-priest transmitted *balag-eršemma* in the musical-written mode (Section 2.3.2).

The book of Isaiah presents another educational context with the root , which appears in Isa 8:16 and Isa 50:4 to designate a disciple whose mission was to perpetuate the sealed teachings of Isaiah to be revealed (or reinterpreted) for later generations, such that these words could sustain the weary with a “disciple’s tongue”

⁶³⁷ Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word*, LAI (Louisville Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 86–87; Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, “Spanning the Generations: Aspects of Oral and Written Transmission in the Bible and Ancient Mesopotamia,” in *Freedom and Responsibility: Exploring the Challenges of Jewish Continuity*, ed. Rela M. Geffen and Marsha Bryan Edelman (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Pub. House, 1998), 21–22; Carr, *Tablet*, 132–133.

⁶³⁸ R.F. Person, “The Ancient Israelite Scribe as Performer,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 601–609; Person, *Deuteronomic School*, 83–101; Carr, *Tablet*, 41–42.

(). These disciple tradents interpreted and added their understanding of their former master to produce deuterio-prophetic strata for their own age.⁶³⁹ Scholars have arrived at a growing consensus that this master-disciple system should not be perceived as an institutional, formal education⁶⁴⁰ but as a familial, prophetic, father-son apprenticeship that resembled its Mesopotamian counterparts.⁶⁴¹

The Chronicler would have reaffirmed the teacher-disciple system that is latent in Deuteronomy and Isaiah, characterising and legitimising the Levites as elite professionals who were socially on a par with Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. appears six times in Chronicles. Twice it occurs in 1Chr 25:7-8 (,), three times in 2Chr 17:7-9 (,), and once in 1Chr 5:18 (). The content of the teaching would have included skills of war, song, and the *Torah*. Levites were involved in the teaching of song and the *Torah* and this matches the two main components in Deut 31:12-22. Moreover, the Chronicler employs the terms “teacher” and “pupil” in 1Chr 25:8, which also parallels Isaiah’s master-disciple system. In this way, the Chronicler may have aimed to distinguish the professional profile of Levitical singers in the same terms as the wider Mesopotamian culture.

The term “one who was skilful” () (1Chr 25:7-8) marks the second quality of the 288 people. 2Chr 34:12 indicates that the Levites were “skilful in the instruments of song” (), suggesting that one aspect of their skilfulness was musical technique. 1Chr 15:22 indicates another aspect of the designation

⁶³⁹ Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 13–53.

⁶⁴⁰ For cogent criticisms on “institutional formal education” posed by scholars like Lemaire, see Stuart Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 137–153; G.I. Davies, “Were There Schools in Ancient Israel?,” in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J.A. Emerton*, ed. John Day, Robert P. Gordon, and H.G.M. Williamson (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 204–210. Cf. John Arthur Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 101–105.

⁶⁴¹ James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 92–93; Friedemann W. Golka, *The Leopard’s Spots: Biblical and African Wisdom in Proverbs* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 7–11; R.N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*, BZAW 135 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 33–43; Martin Buber, *The Prophetic Faith* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 204–205; Davies, “Were There Schools”; Carr, *Tablet*, 111–173.

citizen-temple community by reaffirming the intra-Jewish traditions, such as Deuteronomy and Isaiah, in order to promote the interests of Levitical singers, who were seen as experts in many fields, especially prophecy and music.

However, I must qualify the insights illustrated so far. The Chronicler probably knew nothing about the exact details of the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical curriculum and *kalûtu*. The text does not indicate the content of the two-stage curriculum, nor does it mention any dialogue between teacher and pupil. We thus should avoid assuming the Chronicler's direct dependence on any specific cuneiform texts in this respect. Nevertheless, we see a general resemblance between the two cultures in the father-son apprenticeship system, in which music and prophecy played a significant functional role. The Chronicler likely knew a general outline of what a professional training should look like and how to refashion the upper stratum of the Levites as scholar-singers and *kalû*-priest within the Mesopotamian culture. This general knowledge concerning professional singers probably affected the way the Chronicler configures his reinterpretation of traditions like Deuteronomy and Isaiah. Whether the father-son apprenticeship system existed in the citizen-temple community is not our concern. I intend our understanding of 1Chr 25:7-8 to obtain greater depth from a socio-ideological viewpoint when we set it alongside the professional practices of the *kalûtu* apprenticeship system.

Another probable reason for the Chronicler to identify Levitical singers with the father-son apprenticeship system is to show an unbroken chain of succession in professional practices of prophecy and music. The father-son apprenticeship system in 1Chr 25:7-8 provides a background for establishing the abilities of prophecy and making music in the three guilds as a long-term and regular enterprise. This created a literary expectation that characterises the descendants of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun as the advanced, trained, and faithful followers of their three fathers and the directions

of David. The primary readership (or modern reader) could thus appreciate this richly associated image of their descendants as it appears in the narrative (2Chr 5:12; 29:13-14; 29:30; 35:15).

Some might think that this literary expectation is uncertain, because this system is not reflected in other parts of Chronicles, except in 1Chr 25:7-8. However, a literary expectation does not necessarily need to be established by frequent repetition. The strategic location of 1Chr 25:7-8 in the context of 1Chr 23-27, which describes the detailed, well-organised, and lengthy preparation of David for the temple personnel, would have required the reader to recall this paradigm in comprehending subsequent literary references to the Levitical singers. In fact, the Chronicler consistently claims David's authority in founding the liturgical practice of the Levitical singers (2Chr 8:14; 29:25) and the musical instruments that they used (2Chr 7:6; 29:26-27). This demands a retrospective awareness of 1Chr 25:1-8, in which "prophesy and make music according to David's direction" is the long-term guiding principle for the trained singers.

5.3.5. Summary

In 1Chr 25:1-8, we find a special prophetic-musical office of Levitical singers. First, David was the key figure in setting apart these singers for the watch of the temple, and their status was comparable to that of the Aaronites. Such co-operation between priests and Levites can be explained by the prominence of music in Mesopotamian professional practices; the Chronicler would have attempted to incorporate singers into the temple cult in order to increase the authenticity of the temple.

Second, the singers were to prophesy according to the directions of David. They prophesied in order to foster a covenantal stability envisaged in the Davidic covenant and summarised as "seeking God". Their prophecy can be explained in at least two

ways: (1) They exercised an inspired interpretation of the covenantal traditions, and (2) in prophecy, they imitated the covenantal paradigm set out by David to encourage the people to trust in the divine promise. In these ways, they were seen as helping to avert divine wrath and to enable the conditions necessary for covenantal stability.

Finally, the upper stratum of the Levitical singers (i.e. the 288) would have undergone the father-son apprenticeship in order to be qualified for the temple-watch. This special designation had two effects. First, they are characterised as socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers (and *kalû*-priests), so that the primary readership could identify them as elite professionals with legitimate authenticity. Second, the strategic location of 1Chr 25:1-8 creates a literary expectation that the prophetic-musical capacity of the descendants of the three heads, in subsequent references, would be the consequence of an unbroken line of succession in which “prophesy and make music according to David’s directions” played a significant role, fostering the covenantal stability.

The Chronicler does not stop his emplotment here. I now discuss how, in 2Chr 20:1-30, he provides further examples of the ways in which the prophecy of Levitical singers averted wrath and promoted worldwide stability.

5.4. Music and Prophecy in 2 Chronicles 20:1-30

5.4.1. The General Context: Worldwide Stability

In depicting Jehoshaphat’s reign (2Chr 17:2-21:1), the Chronicler expands 1Kgs 22 from 51 verses to 101 verses. The language of the Davidic covenant (e.g. “seek God”, “God was with Jehoshaphat”, “be strong”, “do not be dismayed”, “walk in God’s commandments”) recurrently appears in the storyline (2Chr 17:3-4; 19:3, 10-11; 20:3, 15-17). He also reformulates the story of Micaiah (1Kgs 22) with a different opening:

“he became son-in-law with Ahab” (2Chr 18:1) and with a different ending: “Regarding this, wrath *will come*⁶⁴⁸ against you from the face of YHWH” (2Chr 19:2), so that the central theme shifts from the issue of true and false prophets (1Kgs 22) to the issue of making a marriage alliance (or covenant) with Ahab.⁶⁴⁹ This alliance is depicted as incurring YHWH’s wrath. The theme of “covenant” in relation to the stability of Israel thus dominates the whole episode.

The episode begins and ends with the same expression of worldwide stability:

2Chr 17:10 _____

2Chr 20:29 _____

At the close of Chronicles (2Chr 36:23), the phrase “all kingdoms of the earth(s)” () designates the entire world given by YHWH to Cyrus (cf. Section 4.2.1.1). 2Chr 17:10 and 2Chr 20:29 share this global perspective of YHWH’s government (cf. 1Chr 29:11). The well-being of Jehoshaphat and his small kingdom, Judah, could obtain a state of “no war” by the worldwide stability of “all kingdoms of the earth”. “The dread of God/YHWH” (/) is said to have arisen because YHWH fought a battle for Israel. This battle was “worldwide” because its effect was not only confined to Judah but also influenced all kingdoms. How could Israel gain such worldwide stability?

First, Israel could achieve this worldwide stability by heeding the itinerant *Torah*-teaching of the Levites (2Chr 17:7-9). The Levites “taught in Judah, and with them was the scroll of the *Torah* of YHWH. They went around () all the cities of Judah and taught among the people” (2Chr 17:9), so that “the dread of YHWH was over all the kingdoms of the earths around () Judah” (2Chr 17:10). The occurrences of “go around” () and “around” () convey the view that if Judah

⁶⁴⁸ I supply “will come” because I see the wrath as impending wrath: see footnote 651.

⁶⁴⁹ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 142–143.

“surrounded” itself with the *Torah*, the dread of YHWH would “surround” Judah and bring the worldwide stability. Levites thus played a crucial role in mass education regarding the *Torah*, with the intention of fostering worldwide stability. In fact, the Chronicler probably borrows this teaching role of Levites from Deuteronomy (Deut 31:9-13; 33:8-11) and the post-exilic citizen-temple community (Neh 8:1-8), in which studying and learning the *Torah* through the teaching of Levites had increasingly occupied a central place.

Second, Jehoshaphat wished to avert divine wrath by performing a judicial reform (2Chr 19:4-11). This episode reformulates earlier juridical traditions (Exod 18:13-27; Deut 1:9-18; 16:18-20; 17:8-20)⁶⁵⁰ and revives them for the purpose of assigning the Levites a role in fostering worldwide stability. 2Chr 19:10 states the purpose of this judicial system: “so that they will not incur retribution from YHWH, nor any wrath will be upon you and upon your fellows.” (

). This “wrath” () can be interpreted as the impending wrath predicted by Jehu (2Chr 19:2), because of the alliance with Ahab.⁶⁵¹ Thus the central motive presented for the judicial reform was to avert an impending wrath. However, 2Chr 19 does not end with a picture of stability. The impending wrath (2Chr 19:2), generalised as the invasion of a Moabite coalition (2Chr 20:1), still came and now forms the backdrop for 2Chr 20:1-30.

⁶⁵⁰ Gary N. Knoppers, “Jehoshaphat’s Judiciary and ‘The Scroll of YHWH’s Torah,’” *JBL* 113 (1994): 71–72; Tiño, *King and Temple*, 76–107.

⁶⁵¹ Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 255. Schniedewind argues that the “wrath” in 2Chr 19:2 refers to the act of enticement that incurred the wrath (2Chr 18). Jehu thus interpreted the event and did not predict an impending wrath in 2Chr 20: Schniedewind, *Transition*, 94–97. However, the verbless expression certainly allows a future event, and this relativises Schniedewind’s interpretation.

5.4.2. Comments on 2Chr 20:1-30

The narrative starts with _____, a temporal marker⁶⁵² together with “afterward”, indicating an event connected with 2Chr 19, the “unfinished business” of averting the impending wrath (2Chr 19:2) by judicial reform. A Moabite coalition came against Jehoshaphat for battle (20:1-2). Jehoshaphat feared (_____), gave his face (_____) to seek YHWH (_____), and proclaimed a fast (_____) (20:3). All Judah assembled to seek YHWH (_____) (20:4) at YHWH’s temple (20:5). This cluster of vocabulary resembles the language of 2Chr 7:14:

If my people who are called by my name humble (_____) themselves, and pray (_____), and seek my face (_____), and turn from their evil ways (_____), then I will hear from heaven (_____), and will forgive their sin and heal their land (_____).

McCarthy argues that _____ (a synonym of _____) marks the covenant-makings and covenant-renewals on many occasions in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.⁶⁵³ Kelly pushes the argument further, based on an examination of the chiasmic insertion of 2Chr 7:12b-16a, and thinks that this cluster of vocabulary constitutes the language of repentance and restoration directed towards the chosen temple as the place where the retribution was reversed.⁶⁵⁴ Since YHWH’s answer to Solomon’s prayer (2Chr 7:12b-16a) focuses primarily on the temple, which was the central promise of the Davidic covenant, the Chronicler would have used this cluster of vocabulary in a covenantal context. In fact, the Chronicler narrates these verses with heaven-and-earth elements, in which _____ and _____ appear in 2Chr 7:13, 14b to form an *inclusio* for the central condition 2Chr 7:14a. The Chronicler thus presents the Solomonic fulfilment of David’s promise by paraphrasing the conditions in 1Chr 28:9-10, 20 with

⁶⁵² JM §176f.

⁶⁵³ McCarthy, “Covenant,” 31–35.

⁶⁵⁴ Kelly, *Retribution*, 46–63.

the language of repentance and restoration (2Chr 7:14a) and the basic premises in the temple as realised template. The chosen temple (2Chr 7:12b) is thus portrayed as the place for averting wrath.

The acts of Jehoshaphat generally correspond to this line of thinking. Williamson writes, “Jehoshaphat clearly acts within the spirit of the paradigmatic 7:14”, and “[t]his gathering [20:5] in the house of the Lord immediately recalls Solomon’s role at the dedication of the temple. His prayer at that time envisaged just such situations as the crisis described here.”⁶⁵⁵ “Fast” (20:3) is “a symbol of earnest repentance”⁶⁵⁶ and an external act of humility. “Seeking YHWH” (20:3, 5) is the Chronicler’s favoured expression to denote conformity with the Davidic covenant. Jehoshaphat “prayed” (20:6-12) at the temple. These choices of language unambiguously point to 2Chr 7:14 within the theological context of the Davidic covenant. This theological appeal to the temple envisaged by 2Chr 7:14 will be clear from an interpretation of Jehoshaphat’s prayer, to which I now turn.

5.4.2.1. Jehoshaphat's Prayer

2Chr 20:6-12 presents Jehoshaphat's prayer:

20:6 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ And he said, “YHWH God of our fathers.

הֲלֹא אַתָּה־הוּא אֱלֹהִים Are you not God in the heaven? Are you

ruling over all the kingdoms of the

ממלכות הגוים ובְיָדְךָ כֹּחַ ne nations?⁶⁵⁷ In your hand are power and

וגבורה ואין עִמָּךְ לְהִתְיַצֵּב: | might, and no one *is able* to stand with you.

20:7 הֲלֹא אִתָּךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הוֹרֵשֶׁת׃ C O our God! Did you not dispossess the

⁶⁵⁵ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 295.

656 Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Only minor witnesses read “earth” for “nation”. MT is to be preferred.

- inhabitants of this earth from before your
- מִלִּפְנֵי עַמּוֹן יִשְׂרָאֵל people Israel and give it to the seed of
 לְזֶרַע אַבְרָהָם אֱהָבָה לְעוֹלָם: Abraham your friend⁶⁵⁸ forever?
- 20:8 וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ בָּהּ וַיִּבְנוּ לָהּ בַּיָּהּ They dwelled in it, and they built for you⁶⁵⁹
 מִקְדָּשׁ לִשְׁמִי לֵאמֹר: i in it a sanctuary for your name, saying,
- 20:9 ‘If disaster came against us, sword,
 שְׁפוֹט וְדָבָר וְרָעָב גַּעֲמָדָה judgment,⁶⁶⁰ or pestilence, or famine, may
 לִפְנֵי הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה וּלְפָנֶיךָ כִּי we stand before this temple, and before
 שְׁמִי בַּבַּיִת הַזֶּה וְנוֹעַץ אֵלֶיךָ you.⁶⁶¹ For your name is at this temple. We
 cry towards you because of our distress. You
 will hear and will save!’
- 20:10 Now behold! The descendants of Ammon,
 הָרִשְׁעִיר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נָתַתָּהּ Moab, and Mount Seir, whom you did not
 permit Israel to come against them when
 they [Israel] came from the land of Egypt,
 מַעֲלִיָּהֶם וְלֹא הִשְׁמִידוֹם: because they [Israel] turned aside from
 against them and did not exterminate them.
- 20:11 Behold! They are rewarding us by coming to
 לְגַרְשָׁנוּ מִיְּרֵשְׁתְּךָ אֲשֶׁר drive us out from your possession⁶⁶² which
 you have caused us to possess.
- 20:12 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הָלֹא תִשְׁפֹּט־בָּם כִּי O our God! Will you not judge upon them?

⁶⁵⁸ G reads ὁ ἡμέω. G might interpret as “love” instead “friend”. The pointing in MT (אַהֲבָה) reflects a substantival participle of to designate “friend”: JM §88Fb. Cf. Isa 41:8.

⁶⁵⁹ G, S, V_g have no “for you”, probably because of the later word : GC, 2:145; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 407.

⁶⁶⁰ G^L reads ἡ ἰ as if , meaning “flood”. MT is to be preferred. “Judgment” can be the fourth calamity in Ezek 14:21: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 791.

⁶⁶¹ G^L and Mss add , “is invoked/called”. MT is to be preferred.

⁶⁶² G and T_g read “our possession”, probably influenced by “our” in : Dillard, 2 *Chronicles*, 153.

For there is no power among us before this
הַזֶּה הַקָּבֹא עָלֵינוּ וְאַחֲרָנוּ לֹא great multitude which is coming against us.
הֵ בִי עָלֶיךָ We do not know what we should do, for our
eyes are upon you.”

As can be seen, 20:8-9 indicates the centrality of the “temple/sanctuary” under YHWH’s name. Jehoshaphat appealed to the divine promise in 2Chr 7:13-14, so that the threats of sword, pestilence, and famine could be averted if his community could promote the necessary conditions at the temple under YHWH’s name. Again, we have an explicit reference to the temple as the place for averting wrath.

Jehoshaphat appealed to the temple (20:8-9) by three rhetorical questions beginning with (20:6, 7, 12). This threefold expresses the universal sovereignty of YHWH, who was “God in heaven”, was “ruling all kingdoms of the nations”, “dispossessed the inhabitants of this earth”, and “will judge” the invaders. These expressions characterise YHWH as the one who controlled, ruled, and judged the whole world. The term “God in heaven” (cf. “God of heaven” in 2Chr 36:23) resembles the Persian perception of YHWH (cf. Section 4.1). The Chronicler employs this term to designate the global rule of YHWH and to give an antonym of “all kingdoms of the nations”.⁶⁶³ He transcends the earthly conflict to invoke YHWH’s celestial government and repeats the language of David’s prayer in 1Chr 29:11-12⁶⁶⁴ in order to associate the heavenly government with the earthly temple. Thus Levine’s exposition is right: “It is from heaven that God’s power originates, but it is from the temple that the deity appears and gives strength to the people”⁶⁶⁵ (cf. Ps 68:35-36).

⁶⁶³ Beentjes, *Tradition*, 65.

⁶⁶⁴ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 789.

⁶⁶⁵ B.A. Levine, “On the Presence of God in Biblical Religion,” in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, SHR 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 82.

Jehoshaphat's prayer indicates another theme: possession. The phrase "all kingdoms of the nations" creates a thematic parallel to "Ammonites and Moabites". 20:10 recalls the experience of Exodus, in which Israel was not given permission to enter into the lands of Seir, Ammon, and Moab, and was forced to turn aside their lands (Deut 2:1-22; Num 20:14-21). The concept behind this experience and the designation of Israel as "God's people" can be found in Deut 32:8-9:

When Elyon apportioned the nations, when he divided the descendants of humanity, he established the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the sons of gods.⁶⁶⁶
For the portion of YHWH is his people, Jacob the allotment of his possession.

In the division order of YHWH Elyon, different nations had their possessions assigned to different gods, but only Israel was YHWH's own portion (cf. Exod 19:4-6). Taking others' possessions was seen as a challenge to YHWH's division order. The Chronicler would be making use of this thinking by repeating "possession/dispossess" (/).⁶⁶⁷ Since Israel was YHWH's possession, Jehoshaphat could appeal to this ultimate government in order to restore the original place of Israel within the world.

5.4.2.2. *Jahaziel's Prophecy*

As Jehoshaphat prayed in the manner of 2Chr 7:13-14, YHWH would have had to respond according to his promise. The Chronicler introduces Jahaziel by tracing his genealogy with five generations back to David's time (20:14).⁶⁶⁸ This introduction is extraordinary since the Chronicler normally introduces prophets by tracing their fathers only one generation back (2Chr 15:1; 19:2; 24:20) or without genealogy (2Chr 12:5; 16:7; 25:7; 28:9). Regarding Jahaziel, Japhet writes,

⁶⁶⁶ I follow the Qumran text and G, reading, "the sons/angels of gods".

⁶⁶⁷ This word contains a double sense, meaning "take possession" or "dispossess", especially in *hiphil*: *BDB*, 439.

⁶⁶⁸ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 298; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 289.

The figure of Jahaziel has many artificial features: his name, ‘the one who sees God’, his affiliation with the singers, who are conceived in Chronicles as prophets (I Chron. 25.1, 2, 3, 5), and his direct descent from Asaph, the assumed head-singer of David’s time, all point to the ‘literary’ nature of his figure.⁶⁶⁹

With the “literary” nature of the figure of Jahaziel pointing towards 1Chr 25:1-8, his introduction probably has two literary implications: (1) Jahaziel was a legitimate descendant of Asaph, and (2) he would have undergone the father-son apprenticeship and learnt how to prophesy and chant.

Schniedewind believes that the possession formula “YHWH’s spirit came upon Jahaziel” is “used in cases of *ad hoc* prophetic inspiration of non-professional prophets.”⁶⁷⁰ He argues that the Chronicler never uses possession formulae to preface prophetic speeches given by intermediaries with a prophetic title but to preface the speeches given by inspired messengers such as Levites, priests and soldiers.⁶⁷¹ However, my interpretation of 1Chr 25:7-8 in light of the professional attributes of the father-son apprenticeship of *kalûtu* would be corrective to this picture. Reading Jahaziel’s prophecy with a retrospective awareness of 1Chr 25:7-8 probably primes the reader to understand this Asaphite as a learned person who knew how to prophesy according to David’s directions. He probably knew how to reinterpret earlier authoritative traditions and had acquired a stable employment and education linked with the temple. These features should not be underestimated if we accept that the Chronicler may characterise Jahaziel as socially equivalent to a *kalû*-priest.

In fact, Jahaziel’s prophecy reflects many features of “prophesying according to the directions of David”. I now unfold these features and begin with a translation of the prophecy:

⁶⁶⁹ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 793.

⁶⁷⁰ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 74.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 70–74.

20:15-16

He said, “Give attention! All Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem and King Jehoshaphat! Thus YHWH says to you, ‘You! Do not fear and do not be dismayed before this great multitude. For the battle is not yours but God’s ...

20:17

It is not for you to wage war in this *battle*. Stand by yourself! Stand still! See the salvation of YHWH with you! O Judah and Jerusalem! Do not fear and do not be dismayed! Tomorrow, go out before them! YHWH will be with you!”

20:18

Then Jehoshaphat bowed down *with* face onto the earth and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell down before YHWH to bow down to YHWH.

This prophecy shows that the central themes are the proclamation of holy war and the exhortation to take courage. The introduction (20:15a) to this prophecy specifies a target audience – “all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem” and “Jehoshaphat”, along with a prophetic summons to “give attention”. In parallel, 20:18 shows that “all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem” and “Jehoshaphat” bowed down.

Some commentators have noticed a connection to holy-war ideology.⁶⁷² This study, however, does not trace the cultic setting of the holy-war tradition. Rather, I wish to concentrate on how the Chronicler employs earlier holy-war traditions in his

⁶⁷² Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 74; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 297; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 783; Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, trans. Marva J. Dawn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 129–131.

theological structure in order to support his global outlook. 2Chr 20 contains many references to holy-war traditions such as “YHWH’s people”, “YHWH’s war”, divine terror, and “do not fear, but believe.”⁶⁷³ 20:15b announces that the war belonged to YHWH. This transcended the earthly conflict with reference to the heavenly flight of YHWH’s hosts. This war became “holy” because it belonged to the realm of God.

20:17 indicates a double exhortation of “do not fear and do not be dismayed!” Many commentators have observed that the Chronicler borrows Exod 14:13-14 and Isa 41:10-14 for this construction. Jahaziel thus is shown exhorting and encouraging Jehoshaphat and his people with an inspired interpretation of earlier traditions⁶⁷⁴ in order to give an impression that Jehoshaphat and his people re-experienced YHWH’s salvation of leading Israelites across the Red Sea.⁶⁷⁵ Moreover, Jahaziel’s prophecy hinges on a literary turning point from lament (20:3-5) to praise (20:19), which corresponds to the prophetic elements within psalms that feature “certainty of a hearing”.⁶⁷⁶ Thus Jahaziel’s prophecy somehow predicted YHWH’s salvation. He could be confident in this prediction, because YHWH had already promised the well-being of Judah in the Davidic covenant in relation to the theological significance of the temple.

Jahaziel’s prophecy follows the exact pattern of 1Chr 22:13-16, 28:9-10, 20 (cf. 2Chr 32:7), in which “do not fear”, “do not be dismayed”, and “YHWH will be with you” duplicate David’s definition of the appropriate attitude towards the temple as the centre of the world.⁶⁷⁷ We thus see how the Chronicler incorporates earlier Exodus traditions into his special concept of the Davidic covenant, which was linked to the

⁶⁷³ For the features, see Von Rad, *Holy War*, 41–51.

⁶⁷⁴ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 125, 129.

⁶⁷⁵ Endres, “Theology of Worship,” 180.

⁶⁷⁶ Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody*.

⁶⁷⁷ These elements show “a recurring feature of the Chronicler’s conception of prophecy”: Williamson, *Chronicles*, 298.

fortune of the temple. We also see how the Levitical singer, Jahaziel, prophesied “according to the directions of David” in order to exhort and encourage Jehoshaphat and his people to stand firm in trusting the Davidic promise.

5.4.2.3. *Jehoshaphat’s Exhortation and the Chanting of Levitical Singers*

After Jahaziel’s prophecy, the Kohathites and Korahites⁶⁷⁸ stood automatically to praise YHWH as if they were prepared (or trained) to do so (20:19). A Levitical singer (Jahaziel) delivered first an oracle according to the Davidic promise. A group of singers then responded with chanting, expressing an appropriate response from the human side of the covenant. We cannot imagine that this procedure arose by improvisation. Rather, it is natural to view it as a result of planning and training.

Kohathites and Korahites stood up “to praise YHWH God of Israel with a great voice to above” (). catches our imagination in a similar way to 2Chr 7:13-14, in which YHWH promised to hear earthly prayer from heaven atop the temple. The Chronicler adds “to above” () in 20:19 to show that the singers’ chanting was a response to “God in heaven”, who had delivered his oracles through Jahaziel. Singers thus controlled both upward praise and downward prophecy and established a channel of communication in which they acted as mediators, resembling the divine origin of *gala*-priest who also acted as a mediator (Section 2.2.3).

According to the passage, the next morning, Jehoshaphat and his people went out and stood, and he gave a very important exhortation (2Chr 20:20):

Listen to me! O Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem! Believe () YHWH your God and you will be confirmed ()! Believe () his prophets and you will prosper ()!

⁶⁷⁸ Kohathites might be at one stage of development absorbed into the guild of Heman as shown in 1Chr 6:18: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 796; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 408–409.

This exhortation is stylistically significant, not only because the Chronicler constructs the parallelism using threefold occurrence of *אמן* but also because it involves the Chronicler's wider use of *אמן* in a covenantal context.⁶⁷⁹ Of the ten occurrences of the word *אמן* in Chronicles,⁶⁸⁰ five of them (except 20:20) are closely linked to the promise to David, which is depicted as “believable”, “trustworthy”, or “Amen-able”. If we read 20:20 within this wider arrangement, it is not difficult to think that the Chronicler probably transposes the covenantal idea into 20:20 to convey a message: if you believe in the divine promise in the Davidic covenant, you will be confirmed (literally “believed”).

This reading is further verified by the second half of the parallelism, in which prophets were the objects to be believed. Schniedewind thinks that Jahaziel is not the only referent, because “prophets” is plural.⁶⁸¹ On the literary level, “prophets” probably refers to Jahaziel and the Kohathites and Korahites, because these singers collaborated to summon the people to believe in the divine promise, “prophesying according to David's directions”. In fact, many post-Davidic kings are shown to “prosper” (*שָׁלוֹם*) when they enabled the conditions of the divine promise (e.g. 1Chr 29:23; 2Chr 7:11; 31:21; 32:30). This further confirms that Levitical singers sought to promote the covenantal stability by encouraging the people to believe in God's promise.

After the exhortation, Jehoshaphat consulted with his people in order to arrange the Levitical singers as the vanguard of the army (20:21). First, when compared with Josh 6:5, we see that the Chronicler replaces the original battle cry with musical

⁶⁷⁹ Many scholars think that 2Chr 20:20 rephrases Isa 7:9 into a positive exhortation: Schniedewind, *Transition*, 183; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 299; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 797; William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 2, JSOTSS 254 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997), 102. Jehoshaphat acted in the role of a priest (Deut 20:1-4): Williamson, *Chronicles*, 299; von Rad, *Holy War*, 118–119.

⁶⁸⁰ 1Chr 16:36; 17:23, 24; 2Chr 1:9; 6:17; 9:6; 20:20(x3); 32:15.

⁶⁸¹ Schniedewind, *Transition*, 184.

worship and a hymn of praise.⁶⁸² Josh 6:5 declares that Israelites made a long blast with a “horn” (), symbolising the power and success of YHWH’s battle, and we also see a link with this in 1Chr 25:5 where the Hemanites lifted up a “horn” ().

Second, the Chronicler may have shared the Mesopotamian concept of musical instruments as the vanguard of a celestial battle (Section 2.4.2). Just as holiness was the necessary condition for Algar-instruments to act as the vanguard of Inanna, Levitical singers also needed to offer praises in the holy splendour ().⁶⁸³ As such, the Chronicler would have related the theological significance of Levitical singers in battle to that of Mesopotamian scholar-singers in order to encourage the citizen-temple community to trust in the Davidic covenant when they encountered socio-political instability.

Finally, the singers are shown chanting a liturgical refrain: “Give thanks to YHWH, for his faithfulness () is forever!” As I shall argue in Chapter Six, this refrain belongs to the covenantal context as well. Repeatedly, the service of Levitical singers, as described by the Chronicler, shows a profound concern for worldwide stability and holiness in the context of the Davidic covenant.

After the music and prophecy of Levitical singers, YHWH sent ambushes against the invaders and they were smitten (20:22). The Israelites plundered the booty for three days (20:25), and after that, Levitical singers led in triumphal worship back to Jerusalem (20:27-28) with “joy” () and with their musical instruments. The Chronicler then ends with the statement of worldwide stability (20:29), a covenantal stability that could probably be achieved if Levitical singers made music and prophesied “according to the directions of David”.

⁶⁸² Williamson, *Chronicles*, 300; von Rad, *Holy War*, 131; Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 75.

⁶⁸³ This involves a sense of “holy ornament”: Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 345.

5.5. Conclusion

In summary, the Chronicler reframes the Davidic covenant into his worldwide significance of the temple and extends the implication of covenantal conditionality to the metaphorical framework of the temple as realised template. In so doing, he situates Levitical singers within the worship of the temple in order to assign the crucial tasks of fostering worldwide stability to their music and prophecy.

The figure of David is used as the model of a prophet and musician, directing the music and prophecy of the singers. Since the Davidic covenant (1Chr 17) established the necessary conditions for enabling worldwide stability in the temple (1Chr 28:9-10, 20; 2Chr 7:13-14), Levitical singers had to sing and prophesy “according to the directions of David” in order to encourage all Israel to live a lifestyle in conformity to the covenantal requirements.

Furthermore, the Chronicler probably characterises the upper stratum of the Levitical singers as elite professionals, trained to promote covenantal stability over generations through their music and prophecy. These chief singers would have been socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests, so that people in the wider pre-Hellenistic culture could identify them as ideologically effective in averting wrath and fostering stability.

Finally, these singers are also portrayed as playing a key role in restoring covenantal stability when Judah encountered a disaster that threatened its well-being (2Chr 20). They prophesied with an inspired interpretation of traditions and reformulated these traditions with reference to the theological framework of the Davidic covenant, which itself was linked with the worldwide significance of the temple. Here, they encouraged all Israel to remember and to trust in the divine promise to avert any threat.

The Chronicler attempted to encourage the citizen-temple community that the existing second temple cultic arrangement, however small it would be, could still stabilise the future in covenantal terms. The apprenticeship of Levitical singers gave a realistic hope to the community. If they persisted in seeking God and pursuing prophecy according to David's directions, they could enjoy covenantal stability, even though they still encountered instability in reality.

Although the Davidic dynasty did not exist in the Chronicler's time, the citizen-temple community was encouraged through the Chronicler's enlivening recontextualisation of the Davidic covenant that they could still find the same covenantal stability; if Jehoshaphat and his people could pass the test, then the citizen-temple community could also pass the test. Although Yehud was a small and poor province, the Chronicler never lost his hope. He exaggerated the worldwide significance of the first temple in the golden age of David and Solomon and endorsed Levitical singers as the key people in fostering worldwide stability in order to encourage his contemporaries to trust in the Davidic covenant, which was an identity marker of Israel's very existence in the whole creation.

6. Remember YHWH's Covenantal Faithfulness: The Shaping of YHWH's Hymns in the Scribal Context of Levitical Singers

So far, this study has confirmed that the prophesying of Levitical singers sought to promote and foster covenantal stability as envisaged in the Davidic covenant. Our understanding is, however, incomplete without an exploration of the deployment of some biblical psalms in Chronicles. The Chronicler incorporates biblical psalms (Pss 96, 105, 106, 132) into his storyline (1Chr 15-16; 2Chr 6) and puts these hymns in the mouths of the Levitical singers and Solomon. He also assigns the liturgical refrain, "Give thanks to YHWH, for he is good, for his faithfulness endures forever" (1Chr 16:34, 41; 2Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21) to the chanting of the singers.⁶⁸⁴ This adaptation reflects the process of scribal recontextualisation, in which a given hymnic tradition was framed in different literary contexts that were meaningful to different audiences.

As in its Mesopotamian counterpart (Section 2.3), this reshaping does not mean that traditions were erroneously transmitted. Rather, they were understood as valuable and reusable for various scribal innovations, especially in the case of traditions that were perceived as divinely inspired. Evidence shows that the Mesopotamian scholar-singers were skilful in reappropriating ancient traditions to create something new, especially that *kalû*-priests were skillful in recontextualising *balag-eršemma* in different settings of temple liturgies. It would be intriguing to set these Mesopotamian professional practices and norms alongside the Chronicler's characterisation of Levites as scholar-singers in order to evaluate his purposes.

We are fortunate to be able to see that this scribal recontextualisation happened in two parallel transmissions of biblical psalms: (1) the compilation of the Psalter and (2) the inseting of psalms in Chronicles. This is remarkable because, as I shall show, they

⁶⁸⁴ 2Chr 7:3 shows the chanting of the refrain by the people, probably led by the singers: Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 119.

both show a strong theological reaction to the experience of the exile, especially to the failure of the old Davidic covenant. It is worth investigating the similarities in the way the psalms have been reshaped to fit within their frames of reference.

In this chapter, I intend to show that the Chronicler's inclusion of biblical psalms into the storyline not only characterises the Levitical singers as the tradents and composers of these hymns but also sharpens the sense of their role in fostering covenantal stability by helping people to remember YHWH's faithfulness. First, I explore the compilation of the Hebrew Psalter in relation to the Chronicler, and I argue that they both inherited the same scribal conventions in their respective recontextualisations. The Chronicler also projects these conventions into his depiction of Levitical singers by (1) assigning these conventions as their main jobs (1Chr 16:4) and (2) reframing the content of the chanting according to these conventions (1Chr 16:8-36). Second, I offer a detailed exegesis of 1Chr 16:8-36 and 2Chr 6:41-42 to show that the Levitical singers sought to proclaim YHWH's sovereignty and global kingship and to cause people to remember YHWH's covenantal faithfulness.

6.1. The Levitical Shaping of the Psalter and Chronicles

Psalms 96, 105, 106, and 132 belong to Books IV-V of the MT-Psalter. Evidence in the Qumran Psalm Scrolls 11QPs^a leads Wilson to conclude that Books I-III were relatively stable in transmission, while Books IV-V were still fluid compared with the MT-Psalter.⁶⁸⁵ He builds on a proposal by Sanders⁶⁸⁶ in order to support the theory of "gradual stabilisation", in which 11QPs^a-collection was a true Psalter, acting as a

⁶⁸⁵ Gerald Henry Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, SBLDS 76 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 63–138.

⁶⁸⁶ James A. Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," in *The Canon and Masorah of the Hebrew Bible: An Introductory Reader*, ed. Sid Z. Leiman (New York: Ktav, 1974), 37–51.

signpost to witness to the process of canonisation, and Books IV-V were still open-ended during the first century CE.

Flint, refining Sanders and Wilson's theory, disproves the theory of "gradual stabilisation" and suggests the development of the Psalter in two definite stages: (1) Psalms 1-89 (Books I-III) was stabilised earlier than the Qumran period in about 150 BCE, and (2) Psalms 90-150 (Books IV-V) exhibited a certain fluidity during the Qumran period.⁶⁸⁷ This fluidity, according to Flint, reflects three different editions of the Psalter in the late second temple period:

1. Edition I: An early edition of the Psalter (Psalms 1 or 2 to 89)
2. Edition IIa: The 11QPs^a-Psalter – compiled among those communities that supported the 364-day solar calendar *before* the Qumran period.
3. Edition IIb: The MT-150 Psalter⁶⁸⁸

There were thus at least two scriptural Psalters (Editions IIa and IIb) during the Qumran period. This implies that (1) the 11QPs^a-Psalter did not belong to a stage of the linear development of the Psalter, (2) the MT-Psalter did not enjoy universal acceptance, and (3) a proto-MT Psalter would have existed before the Qumran period. Flint's analysis is remarkable because he does not put different editions into a linear development. In effect, this frees the dating of the compilation of the MT-Psalter from a linear evolution towards stabilisation and places it in an environment of plurality. It also gives room for a pre-Qumran dating (e.g. the Persian period) of the MT-Psalter, instead of the post-Qumran dating suggested by Sanders and Wilson.

In his groundbreaking study of the editing of the Psalter, Wilson plausibly argues that the exilic experience, especially the apparent failure of the Davidic covenant, is the central editorial concern that shaped the Psalter. He believes that some royal

⁶⁸⁷ Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 141–146.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 168–170, 238–240. Since G-Psalter generally coincides with the shape of the MT-Psalter, this testifies to an earlier origin of the MT-Psalter: Ibid., 170.

psalms, in particular Pss 2, 72, 89, have been purposefully placed at the seams of Books I-III, in order to shape the orientation around the exilic reaction to the loss of the Davidic kingdom.⁶⁸⁹ This failure of the Davidic covenant is most explicitly spelled out in Ps 89:39-52. According to Wilson, there is a break between Books I-III and Books IV-V, as attested in 11QPs^a. Book IV thus stands in a unique position to answer the problem of the failure of the Davidic covenant posed in Books I-III:

In my opinion, Pss 90-106 function as the editorial “center” of the final form of the Hebrew Psalter. As such this grouping stands as the “answer” to the problem posed in Ps 89 as to the apparent failure of the Davidic covenant with which Book One-Three are primarily concerned. Briefly summarized the answer given is: (1) YHWH is king; (2) He has been our “refuge” in the past, long before the monarchy existed (i.e., in the Mosaic period); (3) He will continue to be our refuge now that the monarchy is gone; (4) Blessed are they that trust in him!⁶⁹⁰

Wilson further explains the function of Book V:

Following the lead of Ps 107, it seems that in some sense the fifth book was intended to stand as an answer to the plea of the exiles to be gathered from the *diaspora*. The answer given is that deliverance and life thereafter is dependent on an attitude of dependence and trust in YHWH alone.⁶⁹¹

The break between Books I-III and Books IV-V is significant, because the exilic experience and theological reflection on the Davidic covenant critically affected the shape of the Psalter. As suggested in Chapters Three and Four, the exilic experience created a strong motivation for Jewish thinkers to reflect on the tension between YHWH’s kingship and human kingship. The pre-Hellenistic milieu of the citizen-temple community further fostered a globalised conception of YHWH as the imperial God, which probably influenced the pre-understanding of the Chronicler. This exactly matches the central concern of the compilers of the Psalter: a total

⁶⁸⁹ Wilson, *Editing*, 207–214.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 227. Italics his

dependence on YHWH's kingship. Since Chronicles and the Psalter both respond to the exile with the argument of YHWH's universal kingship, it is likely that their writers inherited a similar theological character.

Building on Wilson's thesis, Tiño argues that the compilers of the Psalter, like Deutero-Isaiah and P, present an incompatibility between YHWH's kingship and earthly kingship. They essentially disagree with the Chronicler, who illustrates no conflict between YHWH's kingship and David in Chronicles.⁶⁹² However, Tiño's overall argument is not compelling, because he misses the element of conditionality in the basic understanding of the Davidic covenant in Chronicles.⁶⁹³ As shown in Chapter Five, the Chronicler reformulates the Davidic dynastic promise by adding an element of conditionality, which can be summarised as "seeking God". This means that there was no conflict between YHWH's kingship and Davidic kings *only under this very condition*. Otherwise, Israel would incur wrath. In fact, the Chronicler does not depict David as a perfect king since his wrongdoings incurred YHWH's wrath twice (1Chr 13:10; 21:7-8). An essential conflict between YHWH and David did appear in Chronicles, when David violated the divine conditions.

Moreover, Wilson has recently nuanced his proposal by illustrating that Ps 132 gives a reference to a "*conditional* enthronement of the Davidic descendants", which shifts "any hopes attached to the Davidic monarchs on to the rulership of God himself."⁶⁹⁴ This conditionality does exist in the shape of the Psalter where it is used to express YHWH's imperial sovereignty. This not only matches the conditional enthronement of Davidic kings in Chronicles but also coincides with the Chronicler's

⁶⁹² Tiño, *King and Temple*, 108–119.

⁶⁹³ Tiño does explore this conditionality in his articulation of the *Torah* in Chronicles: *Ibid.*, 53. However, he does not explore this element in his comparison with the shaping of the Psalter.

⁶⁹⁴ Gerald Henry Wilson, "King, Messiah, and the Reign of God: Revisiting the Royal Psalms and the Shape of the Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, SVT 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 397. Italics his

shifting of focus from the Davidic dynasty to the covenantal foundation that lay behind the temple. Therefore, the “essential disagreement” between Chronicles and the Psalter is overstated by Tiño, and their similarity when it comes to the Davidic covenant is frequently evident.

One central similarity between Chronicles and the Psalter is the theology of the temple as realised template. Many agree that Pss 1-2 are intentionally placed at the introduction of the Psalter in order to direct subsequent interpreters to consider the Psalter as a kind of *Torah* and as a book elaborating YHWH’s kingship in Zion⁶⁹⁵ – the place that symbolised the temple.⁶⁹⁶

Furthermore, Gillingham undertakes a thorough study concerning the editing of the Psalter according to the theological convictions of the Zion tradition. She successfully locates a number of “temple markers”, showing that some premises in the temple as realised template (e.g. the mountain top as the connection between heaven and earth, the temple as the centre of the world, and the worldwide governance) probably constituted a dominant pre-understanding of the compilers.⁶⁹⁷ The Songs of Ascent (Pss 120-134) offer a compelling example of this. Commentators have offered diverse approaches for the interpretation of The Songs of Ascent.⁶⁹⁸ I am inclined to

⁶⁹⁵ Tournay, *Seeing*, 27; James Luther Mays, “The Question of Context in Psalm Interpretation,” in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSS 159 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 16; James Luther Mays, “The Place of the Torah-Psalms in the Psalter,” *JBL* 106 (1987): 10; Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament*, BZAW 151 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1980), 141–144; S.E. Gillingham, “The Levitical Singers and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter,” in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms*, ed. Erich Zenger, BETL 238 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2010), 102.

⁶⁹⁶ Pss 1-2 depict many symbols of the temple such as streams of water and trees (Ps 1:3), YHWH’s enthronement in the heavens (Ps 2:4), Zion as holy mountain (Ps 2:6), the royal decree of YHWH (Ps 2:7), and nations on the earth as the gift of YHWH (Ps 2:8). The juxtaposition of Pss 1 and 2 strengthens the *Torah* as the refuge of YHWH-seekers (Ps 2:12): Jerome F.D. Creach, *Yahweh as Refuge and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, JSOTSS 217 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1996), 69–73, 79–80. This matches the symbolism of the Zion tradition: S.E. Gillingham, “The Zion Tradition and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 332–333.

⁶⁹⁷ Gillingham, “Zion,” 308–341; Gillingham, “Levitical Singers,” 91–103.

⁶⁹⁸ For a comprehensive survey, see Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101-150*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, Minn:

agree with Crows' approach, which locates six formulaic phrases⁶⁹⁹ that indicate "a discernible, consistent redactional reworking"⁷⁰⁰ of Pss 120-134. He proposes a hypothesis that the nucleus of the collection belongs to the northern non-Jerusalemite agricultural traditions, while the later Jerusalemite editors reframed these traditions according to the Zion tradition,⁷⁰¹ and this happened during the Persian period under the influence of the inauguration of the post-exilic temple community.⁷⁰² Gillingham further states that Pss 120-134 contain "the most compelling evidence" for locating the editing footprints of "temple markers".⁷⁰³ Seybold argues that the Mesopotamian worldview probably influenced the language of the Psalter.⁷⁰⁴

While the majority of scholars regard these psalms as pilgrim-psalms,⁷⁰⁵ another possible interpretation of their titles is "The Songs of the Temple Steps",⁷⁰⁶ which may refer to a particular place in the temple where they were sung. In any event, these psalms seem firmly associated with the temple service, harmonising with the overall editorial approach of the compilers, according to the theology of the temple and to the Davidic covenant. Their concerns, in either case, seem to coincide either with 2Chr 5:12; 7:6, depicting the Levitical singers standing at the top of the "temple steps" for chanting,⁷⁰⁷ or with 2Chr 36:23, depicting the second temple as the destination of "ascent" for establishing the cult. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the Chronicler and the compilers of the Psalter are of similar theological outlooks.

Fortress Press, 2011), 288–293.

⁶⁹⁹ Crow, *Ascents*, 130–136.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 145–158.

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*, 167–174.

⁷⁰³ Gillingham, "Levitical Singers," 95.

⁷⁰⁴ Klaus Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 177–190.

⁷⁰⁵ E.g., Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 221–223; Knowles, *Centrality*, 93–103.

⁷⁰⁶ E.g., John Sawyer, "The Psalms in Judaism and Christianity: A Reception History Perspective," in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. S.E. Gillingham (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 139–141.

⁷⁰⁷ Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 72–73.

Scholars have noted their close affinity. Kraus believes that “[t]he Levitical circle of transmitters that stands behind the Chronicler’s history presents itself as the priesthood responsible for the vocal and instrumental performance of the Psalms in the postexilic temple community.”⁷⁰⁸ Riley thinks that “[t]he greatest argument for the influence of the Psalms upon the Chronicler is his own unmistakable use of verses of the Psalter, especially in the events which surround the establishment of the Temple.”⁷⁰⁹ Tournay suggests that the prominence of singing and music during the second temple period as reflected in Chronicles arose simultaneously with the completion of the Psalter.⁷¹⁰ Davies also believes that the Chronicler and the compilers of the Psalter belonged to the same scribal circle.⁷¹¹ Williamson notes some strong affinities between Chronicles and the Psalter such as the liturgical refrain (Pss 106:1; 107:1; 118:1; 136:1), (Pss 9:11; 14:2; 22:27; 24:6; 34:5, 11; 69:33; 77:3; 78:34; 105:4; 119:2, 10) and (Pss 10:14; 28:7; 30:11; 37:40; 46:6; 54:6).⁷¹² It is therefore highly probable that they share the same theological outlook with a common interest in the temple cult and its theology.

In her recent article, Gillingham locates six markers affirming that the compilation of the Psalter is the work of Levitical hands: (1) the liturgical headings of various psalms, including “the type of a psalm; the tune to accompany it; the instruments to be used; and the role of the leader of worship”;⁷¹³ (2) the superscriptions of some psalms (Pss 39, 50, 62, 73-83, 88-89), pointing unambiguously to Levitical editing;⁷¹⁴ (3) the dominance of the figure of David;⁷¹⁵ (4)

⁷⁰⁸ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 32.

⁷⁰⁹ Riley, *King and Cultus*, 34.

⁷¹⁰ Tournay, *Seeing*, 27.

⁷¹¹ Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 131.

⁷¹² Williamson, *Israel*, 47, 54–55.

⁷¹³ Gillingham, “Levitical Singers,” 103–104. She observes that “[t]he evidence of singing and music from the contents of the psalms is so overwhelming”: *Ibid.*, 105.

⁷¹⁴ Gillingham, “Levitical Singers,” 108. Cf. Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 218–219; Mark S. Smith, “The Levitical Compilation of the Psalter,” *ZAW* 103 (1991): 259.

the special interest in the *Torah* and the didactic elements in psalms;⁷¹⁶ (5) the concern for the poor and needy;⁷¹⁷ and (6) the prophetic elements in the Psalter.⁷¹⁸ As such, Gillingham offers a very strong argument that, taken together with her illustration of the temple-oriented editing of the Psalter,⁷¹⁹ makes it obvious that there is a strong Levitical influence in the shaping of the Psalter,⁷²⁰ which cannot be easily disproved. In comparison, most of the six markers match the characterisation of Levites in Chronicles, such as (1), (2), (3), (4), and (6). It is thus reasonable to assume that there is a strong Levitical influence in the Psalter and Chronicles.⁷²¹

Building on the common Levitical influence on the Psalter and Chronicles, we can explore further the common literary conventions used in them. Concerning these Levitical-scribal conventions, Japhet writes,

The most striking feature is the fundamental similarity in method between the compilation of this psalm and the general character of the Chronicler's literary activity: the joining, editing and reworking of existing materials into a new extensive literary composition.⁷²²

I wish to unfold this “fundamental similarity”, arguing that Levitical scholar-singers summoned people (within the text) to remember YHWH's covenantal faithfulness.

⁷¹⁵ Gillingham, “Levitical Singers,” 109–110. This matches the prophecy of Levitical singers according to David's directions in Chapter Five.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., 110–114. This matches the *Torah*-educational context in 2Chr 17:7–9.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., 114–116.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., 116–120; S.E. Gillingham, “New Wine and Old Wineskins: Three Approaches to Prophecy and Psalmody,” in *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 370–390.

⁷¹⁹ Gillingham, “Zion,” 308–341.

⁷²⁰ Supported by: Nancy L. DeClaissé-Walford, *Reading from the Beginning: The Shaping of the Hebrew Psalter* (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 1997), 28; Gunther Wanke, “Prophecy and Psalms in the Persian Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 184–186; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 32; Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 131.

⁷²¹ I do not go too far in determining a specific group behind the shaping of the Psalter and Chronicles. The topic of authorship is extremely complicated insofar as we cannot confidently determine whether they came from pro-Levitical or/and pro-priestly circles. Scholars have reached no consensus (see footnote 5). I only wish to contend the widely accepted view that Levitical influence penetrates both the Psalter and Chronicles, though the identity of the author (or compilers) remains mysterious.

⁷²² Japhet, *Chronicles*, 313.

Following the lead of Wilson, I wish to elucidate four literary conventions that are purposefully employed in the compilation of the Psalter and Chronicles. First, the -psalms conclude segments, while the -psalms introduce new sections (e.g. Pss 104-106; 117-118; 135-136).⁷²³ Second, psalms with doxologies are usually placed at the end of Books I-IV of the Psalter.⁷²⁴ Third, a shift happens from Books I-III to Book IV and a high proportion of “untitled” psalms predominate in Book IV. The juxtaposition of untitled psalms in Book IV allows the editors freedom in arranging their order to focus on YHWH’s kingship in response to the problem posed by the failure of the Davidic covenant in Books I-III.⁷²⁵ Finally, there is a tendency to assign Davidic authorship to those psalms perceived as divinely inspired, because Levitical singers saw David as the model of a prophet, receiving divine inspiration (cf. Chapter Five). This would have become a stabilising factor for the transmission of hymnic traditions, as it did with their Mesopotamian counterparts (cf. Section 2.3.3). I shall show that the Chronicler uses these four conventions in his insertion of biblical psalms and in his characterisation of Levitical singers.

In summary, I submit that both Chronicles and the Psalter show a coherent concern for some thematic issues such as the theology of the temple, the Davidic covenant, YHWH’s global kingship, and the exilic experience. They both encourage their readers to trust in YHWH’s kingship by reflecting the insights suggested by the conditionality of the Davidic covenant, and we find a general agreement of theology between them. I now argue that the Chronicler’s shaping of inset psalms shows a skilful mastery of common scribal conventions, which are also present in the Psalter, in order to characterise Levitical singers as scholar-singers, who sought to encourage

⁷²³ Wilson, *Editing*, 182–190.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*, 183–184.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, 173–181.

people through the chanting of well-crafted hymns, to remember covenantal faithfulness and to trust in YHWH's imperial sovereignty.

6.2. The Levitical Scholar-singers in 1 Chronicles 15-16

6.2.1. The Chronicler's Characterisation of the Levitical Singers

The inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36) belongs to the literary context of 1Chr 13-16, which describes David's inauguration of Levitical singers and the transfer of the ark to the "place" () prepared by David. The Chronicler reorders his Samuel-*Vorlage* by narrating the first attempt to transfer the ark in 1Chr 13, followed by the defeat of the Philistines in 1Chr 14. The second attempt comes next in 1Chr 15-16, in which the Chronicler significantly expands his Samuel-*Vorlage* (2Sam 6:12-16) from 5 verses to 72 verses. This reordering is probably guided by the wordplay of "seek" (and) (13:3; 14:8; 15:13; 16:10-11) and "break forth" () (13:2, 11; 14:11; 15:13) as a double paronomasia⁷²⁶ to show that seeking YHWH according to "statute" () was a guiding principle in averting wrath (1Chr 15:13).⁷²⁷ This statute should be interpreted as an allusion to some established regulations, which were neglected in the previous tragedy (1Chr 13).⁷²⁸ 1Chr 15:2 makes clear the content of the regulations: only Levites could carry the ark of YHWH and serve him, according to Deut 10:8.⁷²⁹ This, in effect, emphasises the indispensable role of the Levites in averting wrath at times of "seeking YHWH", a key term summarising the Davidic covenant. The failure of the first attempt thus gives a warrant for "the ordering and sanctifying of the Levites"⁷³⁰ (1Chr 15:12-14) under David's authority.

⁷²⁶ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 588; Eskenazi, "Literary Approach," 265.

⁷²⁷ Cf. Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London: Routledge, 1995), 43–45.

⁷²⁸ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 618.

⁷²⁹ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 297; von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 99.

⁷³⁰ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 120.

In 1Chr 15:16-24, the Chronicler includes a detailed list of Levitical singers, priests, and gatekeepers, showing the fulfilment of David's commands by the chiefs of the Levites in organising a cultic team during the transfer of the ark.⁷³¹ This list shows, in great detail, a collaboration of cultic personnel in the subsequent organisation of the temple service. The central issue was to ensure a proper cultic arrangement for the transfer of the ark, in order for David to receive the divine blessings that the house of Obed-edom previously experienced (1Chr 13:14; 16:43).

In 1Chr 15:25-29(//2Sam 6:12-16), the Levites started to carry the ark with God's help. First, the Chronicler replaces Qal waw-consecutive in 2Sam 6:12 with a participle in 1Chr 15:25 and adds the notion of "God's helping" () in 1Chr 15:26 to align it with the participles employed in 1Chr 15:27-28 (and) and to show a cluster of continuous actions.⁷³² Second, Eskenazi observes an important shift of modifier in describing the ark from 1Chr 15:25 onward:

Until the Levites carry the ark, it is identified as the ark of God or ark of YHWH. Once the Levites are specifically appointed to carry the ark and actually do so, the terminology changes. Now, for the first time in Chronicles, the "ark of the *covenant*" occurs ... the Levites – not the ark itself – are perceived as the actual bearers of the covenant. Only when the two combine – when the Levites and the ark meet – does the ark constitute a covenantal symbol.⁷³³

This close association of the Levites with the covenant gives the ark theological substance, symbolising Israel as the covenantal people holy to YHWH. This not only matches my interpretation in Chapter Five but also adds significance to the content of the singers' chanting in 1Chr 16:8-36, in which "covenant" dominates the hymn. A theological role is also assigned to Levitical singers in 1Chr 15:25-28, to ensure a

⁷³¹ For the list, see Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 49.

⁷³² Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 355–356; Eskenazi, "Literary Approach," 267.

⁷³³ Eskenazi, "Literary Approach," 270–271.

proper transfer of the ark, with the accompaniment of music and covenantal symbolism, without causing wrath.

After the ark had been settled at David's tent (1Chr 16:1), he appointed Levites:

He [David] appointed *singers and priests*⁷³⁴ from the Levites serving before the ark of YHWH, and to invoke (),⁷³⁵ to give thanks (), and to praise () to YHWH God of Israel. (1Chr 16:4)

This verse is particularly important because it characterises the role of Levitical scholar-singers. First, some commentators have seen that , , and belong to the superscriptions of some psalms (Pss 38, 70, 100, 105-107, 111, 118, 136, 146-150), in which denotes the psalms of lament, denotes a link with thanksgiving sacrifice, and denotes the hymns of praises.⁷³⁶ Since these superscriptions presuppose the scribal (or Levitical) shaping of the Psalter, this shows that the Chronicler narrates the scribal significance into the storyline.

Some argue that the superscriptions of psalms reflect the connective midrashic exegesis of historical events linked to their thematic expressions.⁷³⁷ The Chronicler also performs this kind of exegesis, but in the opposite direction. The editors of the Psalter locate the thematic affinities between a given psalm and the narrative of Samuel-Kings in order to assign historical titles. The Chronicler, however, has an existing narrative structure in his *Samuel-Vorlage* and inserts his preferred psalms with close thematic affinities. Nam also affirms that the "collection of verses in 1 Chr 16:8-35 illustrate the scribal nature of the Levitical singers in their prophetic call to

⁷³⁴ I supply "singers and priests" as the object of , because 1Chr 16:5-6 is a name list of Levitical singers and priest-trumpeters.

⁷³⁵ Literally, "to cause to remember". G renders as a circumstantial participle אֲזַכֵּר : Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, SVT 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 182–183.

⁷³⁶ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 127; Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:191; Peter R. Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, TBC (London: SCM, 1973), 63.

⁷³⁷ Brevard S. Childs, "Psalms Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971): 137–150; Elieser Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms," *ZAW* 91 (1979): 350–380.

compile theologically appropriate psalms for the community.”⁷³⁸ Therefore, by assigning Levitical singers with these three scribal terminologies (, , and), 1Chr 16:4 would have given an impression to its audience that these singers were scribal professionals comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers.

Second, and belong to the structuring conventions that are used in shaping the Psalter; they mark the beginning and the end of sections. The Chronicler probably employs these technical scribal conventions as a gloss to the scribal capacity of the Levitical singers and, simultaneously, as a reference to their musical profession in 1Chr 16:4. Scholars have agreed that the three terms function (1Chr 16:4) as a structural key for the Chronicler’s formulation of the inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36).⁷³⁹ This gives an obvious scribal-musical reference suggesting that the Asaphite singers composed the inset psalm using the same scribal conventions employed by the editors of the Psalter. And yet, this Asaphite psalm was composed to be sung musically,⁷⁴⁰ in a way that resembles the scribal-musical practice of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests (cf. Section 2.3), at the level of literary world, though we cannot be sure if this inset psalm was actually sung in the second temple.⁷⁴¹

We thus see a skilful characterisation of Asaph in which the inset psalm is used to refocus the audience’s attention towards the scribal character of Levitical singers within the literary world. As I shall show, the content of the inset psalm characterises these singers not only as the composers and editors of liturgical hymns but also as the main agents in fostering covenantal stability by invoking people to remember

⁷³⁸ Nam, “Writing Songs,” 316.

⁷³⁹ R. Mark Shipp, “‘Remember His Covenant Forever’: A Study of the Chronicler’s Use of the Psalms,” *ResQ* 35 (1993): 29–39; Andrew E. Hill, “Patchwork Poetry or Reasoned Verse? Connective Structure in 1 Chronicles XVI,” *VT* 33 (1983): 97–101.

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. Gillingham, *Poems*, 44–68.

⁷⁴¹ Since Aramaic was the main spoken language, people might not understand this Hebrew psalm if this was really sung. Jews might not regard the Hebrew Psalter as the hymnbook to be sung, but the prayerbook to be meditated (Ps 1): Gerald Henry Wilson, “Shaping the Psalter: A Consideration of Editorial Linkage in the Book of Psalms,” in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSS 159 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 72.

YHWH's faithfulness in his global kingship. This is especially true if we presume that some audiences of the Chronicler's work would have had a basic knowledge of the Psalter and Samuel and saw them as divinely inspired scripture.⁷⁴² This scripturalising of the imagination adds a new literary expectation to the character of these singers as the bearers and perpetuators of authoritative traditions, a characteristic that is shared with practitioners in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture.

1Chr 16:7 informs us that David appointed Asaph to sing -psalm for YHWH, and introduces the masterpiece of 1Ch 16:8-36, starting with and ending with (these two conventions may imply the office of prophecy as attested in 1Chr 25:3). First, I offer my translation, divided into sections. Second, I interpret the inset psalm.

6.2.2. A Translation of 1Chr 16:8-36

Israel's Praise (16:8-22)⁷⁴³

16:8	Give thanks ⁷⁴⁴ to YHWH! Call upon his name!
	הַעֲמִים עַל־לִילְתִּירֹ: Make known among the peoples his deeds!
16:9	Sing to him! Make music to him! Meditate on all his wonders! ⁷⁴⁵
16:10	Praise in the name of his holiness! Let the heart

⁷⁴² This statement is probably true if we see the audiences as the esoteric scribal companions of the Chronicler.

⁷⁴³ Most scholars have agreed that 1Chr 16:8-36 was taken from Pss 105:1-15; 96:1-13a; 106:1, 47-48, except George J. Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," *RQ* 14 (1989): 275; Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 64-65. Most scholars have agreed that 1Chr 16:8-36 comes from the Chronicler's hand and is not a secondary addition, except Noth, *Chronicler's History*, 35; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 127. Japhet plausibly defends the unity of 1Chr 15-16: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 294-296. This inset psalm is also a highly integrated part of the storyline: James W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOTSS 139 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 158-160.

⁷⁴⁴ 11QPs^a shows the liturgical refrain with the first imperative, an attraction to Pss 106:1; 107:1; 118:1; 136:1: Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 3, 64. G^{AB} adds "a song" (שִׁיר) before this clause. MT is to be preferred.

⁷⁴⁵ G adds "that the Lord has made" (כִּי עָשָׂה יְהוָה), an assimilation to 16:12: Knoppers, *I Chronicles* 10-29, 636.

16:11		Resort to YHWH and his strength! ⁷⁴⁷ Seek his face regularly!
16:12		Remember his wonders that he has done! His signs, and the judgments of his mouth! ⁷⁴⁸
16:13		Seed of Israel, ⁷⁴⁹ his servant; ⁷⁵⁰ sons of Jacob, his chosen ones!
16:14	הוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ	He, YHWH, is our God! His judgments are in all the earth!
16:15		Remember ⁷⁵¹ forever his covenant, the word he commanded to a thousand generations,
16:16		that he cut with Abraham, and his oath to Isaac, ⁷⁵²
16:17		that he established it to Jacob as a statute, to Israel as an everlasting covenant,
16:18	לֵאמֹר לְךָ אֶתְּנוּ אֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן חֶבֶל	: saying, ⁷⁵³ “To you, ⁷⁵⁴ I shall give the land of Canaan, the portion of your inheritance.
16:19		When you were ⁷⁵⁵ men of number as ⁷⁵⁶ a few,

- and strangers in it,
- 16:20 And they walked from nation to nation,⁷⁵⁷ and
from a kingdom to another people.
- 16:21 לֹא־הִגִּיחַ לְאִישׁ לְעִשְׂקָם וַיִּזְכּ He He did not allow anyone⁷⁵⁸ to oppress them, and
He reproved kings on their account.
- 16:22 Do not touch my anointed ones; and do not harm
my prophets!⁷⁵⁹

International Praise (16:23-30)

- 16:23 שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ בְּשִׁירָו Sing to YHWH, all the earth! Proclaim tidings
from day to day⁷⁶⁰ his salvation!⁷⁶¹
- 16:24⁷⁶² Recount among the nations his glory; among all
the peoples his wonders!
- 16:25 For great is YHWH, and to be praised greatly,
וַיִּנְרָא הוּא עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים: and to be feared over all gods!
- 16:26 אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֲלִילִים For all the gods of the peoples are worthlessness,
but YHWH⁷⁶³ has made heavens!
- 16:27 Majesty and splendour are before him; strength

⁷⁵⁵ Ps 105:12, G, V_g read “when they were” (), and S-Ps 105:12 and T_g-Ps 105:12 read “when you were”. G and V_g should be a correction to Ps 105:12: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 359; Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 223. It might also be a scribal adaptation (or error?) to the suffix of in 16:18. S-Ps 105:12 and T_g-Ps 105:12 should be an attraction to 16:19.

⁷⁵⁶ here introduces a predicate: GKC §118x, cf. WO’C §11.2.9c.

⁷⁵⁷ S reads “you were carried away captive from nation to nation”, an enhancement of the exilic imagery: Michael Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 209.

⁷⁵⁸ Ps 105:14 reads “Adam” () for “anyone” (). Mss of Ps 105:14 read . They should be an adaptation to 16:21.

⁷⁵⁹ Ps 105:15 reads for .

⁷⁶⁰ Ps 96:2 reads for .

⁷⁶¹ Ps 96:1b, 2a > 16:23. Klein believes that there is a deliberate omission of “new song”, which seems inappropriate in the middle of this psalm or not suitable for non-Israelite referents: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 366. Alternatively, it reflects a textual corruption or a different *Vorlage*: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 317. I think that it is probably an intentional omission to form an *inclusio* between 16:9 and 16:23.

⁷⁶² G lacks 16:24 by homoioteleuton: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 359; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 638.

⁷⁶³ G reads “our God” for “YHWH”.

- and joy⁷⁶⁴ are in his place!⁷⁶⁵
- 16:28 Ascribe to YHWH, families of peoples! Ascribe to YHWH, glory and strength!
- 16:29 Ascribe to YHWH, the glory of his name! Bring an offering and come⁷⁶⁶ before him!⁷⁶⁷ Worship YHWH in holy adornment!⁷⁶⁸
- 16:30 Tremble before him,⁷⁶⁹ all the earth! Indeed, the world will be established,⁷⁷⁰ it will not be shaken!⁷⁷¹

Universal Praise (16:31-33)

- 16:31 Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad! Let them say⁷⁷² among the nations, “YHWH reigns!”
- 16:32 יָרֵעַם הַיָּם וּמְלֹאֵי יַעַר הַשָּׂדֶה Let the sea and its fullness thunder! Let the field and all that is in it rejoice!
- 16:33 Then, the trees of the forest will shout with joy before YHWH, for he comes⁷⁷³ to judge the earth!

Final Call to Thanksgiving (16:34)

⁷⁶⁴ Ps 96:6 reads “beauty” () for “joy” ().

⁷⁶⁵ Ps 96:6 reads “his sanctuary” () for “his place” (). This removes an anachronism: Williamson, *Chronicles*, 129.

⁷⁶⁶ G reads “receive gifts and carry” (ἄ ὦ ἰ ἐ ἐ).

⁷⁶⁷ Ps 96:8 reads “to his court” () for “before him” (). This removes an anachronism: Williamson, *Chronicles*, 129.

⁷⁶⁸ G and G-Ps 95:9 read “in his holy court” (as if), a possible adaptation to in Ps 96:8.

⁷⁶⁹ Ps 96:9 reads “from his face” () for “before him” ().

⁷⁷⁰ G and G-Ps 95:10 read “was erected, he erected” (ἦ , ὦ).

⁷⁷¹ Ps 96:10c, 13b are missing and the ordering is different in 16:30-33: 16:30//96:9b, 10b; 16:31//96:11, 10a; 16:32//96:11b, 12a; 16:33//96:12b, 13a.

⁷⁷² Ps 96:10a reads “say!” () (imperative) for “let them say” () (imperfect). The reordering of Ps 96:11, 10a in 16:31 designates the subject of “say” as having a universal nature instead of “peoples”, and constructs a parallelism in 16:31-32.

⁷⁷³ Ps 96:13a doubles the phrase .

16:34 Give thanks to YHWH,⁷⁷⁴ for he is good for his
faithfulness endures forever!

Summary Petition (16:35-36)

16:35 ואמרו הושיענו אלהי ישוענו And say,⁷⁷⁵ “Save us, God of our salvation!”⁷⁷⁶
Gather us and deliver us⁷⁷⁷ from the nations! To
להודות לשם קדשך להשתבח give give thanks to your holy name, and to glory in
your praise.”⁷⁷⁸

16:36 ברוך יהוה אלהי ישראל “Blessed by YHWH, God of Israel from the
everlasting and until the everlasting.” And all the
people say, “Amen”, and “Praise YHWH!”⁷⁷⁸

6.2.3. Comments

Kleinig’s structure⁷⁷⁹ shows a gradual progression of the scope of praise from Israel (16:8-22), to other nations (16:23-30), and then to the creation (31-33).⁷⁸⁰ This suggests that the chanting of Asaphites involved not only a national concern but also international and worldwide dimensions.

Since Pss 96, 105, 106 are untitled psalms in the MT-Psalter, the Chronicler can characterise Asaph as a professional scholar-singer, who could freely arrange these untitled psalms to produce a new hymn, showing the gradual extension of the domains of praise (from Israel to the universe). This not only reflects the scribal convention

⁷⁷⁴ Ps 106:1 starts with “Praise YHWH” (). This is omitted because the Chronicler, following the scribal convention of the editors of the Psalter, probably thinks that it is more appropriate for to appear at the end of this inset psalm.

⁷⁷⁵ Ps 106:47 lacks .

⁷⁷⁶ Ps 106:47 reads “YHWH our God” () for “God of our salvation” ().

⁷⁷⁷ Ps 106:47 lacks “and deliver us” (). The juxtaposition of and can be found in Ps 79:9, which might influence 16:35, and prepares a way for “God of Israel” in 16:36, in which “our salvation” () and “Israel” () sound similarly.

⁷⁷⁸ Ps 106:48 reads (2mp Piel imperative) for (Piel infinitive absolute). This infinitive absolute substitutes a finite verb form as imperative: GKC §113y.

⁷⁷⁹ Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 143–144.

⁷⁸⁰ Also Ralph W. Klein, “Psalms in Chronicles,” *CTM* 32 (2005): 266–268.

(freely arranging untitled psalms) of shaping the Psalter to the literary world but also assigns a new authorship to Asaph under the directions of David (1Chr 16:7). This would have lent authority to the new psalm, because Chronicles attempts to promote David as the prophet who received divine inspirations (1Chr 14:10, 14; 28:11-19).⁷⁸¹ As such, we can find three characterisations of Asaph: (1) he was a scribe who could freely arrange untitled psalms, (2) he was a professional singer who could sing the new psalm, and (3) he transmitted this new psalm, which was perceived as divinely inspired through David the prophet in a scribal-musical mode. These techniques resemble the scribal-musical practice of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests, who tended to recontextualise freely the hymnic traditions and to carry out a musical-written transmission of divinely inspired traditions (cf. Section 2.3).

In relation to the vocation of the Levitical singers, I shall now unfold the covenantal theology within the threefold division of the psalm. It characterises Asaph as a professional scholar-singer who served for the purpose of covenantal stability.

6.2.3.1. *YHWH's Covenantal Faithfulness in Israel's Past (1Chr 16:8-22)*

The inset psalm starts with (16:8), a scribal convention used by the compilers of the Psalter to denote the beginning of an episode. The Chronicler follows this convention to show that Asaph was a Levitical scholar-singer who was an expert in chanting and composing -psalms. and denote that YHWH-thanks-giving was also a musical activity (16:9), in which usually has a sacramental and religious character,⁷⁸² designating that “singing” exclusively belonged to the realm of God. should be interpreted as the playing of musical instruments as attested in Ps

⁷⁸¹ The inset psalm does not directly claim David's authorship, but can be indirectly conceived as “Davidic”, because David acted as the cult-founder of Asaph's office: Howard N. Wallace, “What Chronicles Has to Say About Psalms,” in *The Chronicler as Author*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 284–291.

⁷⁸² “ ,” *TDOT*, XIV: 618.

144:9.⁷⁸³ They both are Levitical terms,⁷⁸⁴ denoting the daily practices of Levitical singers in a musical-liturgical setting. The goals of this scribal-musical worship were to make YHWH's deeds known (16:8) and to meditate on all YHWH's wonders (16:9). 16:10-11 clearly summoned YHWH-seekers to participate in this musical worship. These YHWH-seekers were those who "seek God" according to the Davidic covenant, and their worship primarily involved a remembrance of YHWH's wonders (16:12).

"His wonders" () (16:9, 12, 24) is a dominant notion in the psalm, and 16:8-22 focuses on YHWH's wonders in a historical dimension. The psalm harks back to the time when there was no king, the time when the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) solely relied on YHWH as their only king to protect them in their life of sojourning.⁷⁸⁵ This exactly matches the theological character of Book IV, which starts with the prayer of Moses (Ps 90), shifting the focus from the exilic failure of the old Davidic covenant (Ps 89) to the leadership of Moses in an era without an earthly king: Only YHWH is the king.⁷⁸⁶ The Chronicler also shows this "exilic consciousness" and reframes the history of the sojourning patriarchs by making it resonate with the exilic experience and echo the mobility of the ark. We see that the Chronicler alters his *Psalms-Vorlage* from "they were" to "you were" in 16:19 in order to identify his audiences in the Persian period.⁷⁸⁷ The descriptions "few in number", "strangers", and "walked from nation to nation" (16:19-20) then become not only the experience of the patriarchs but also the experience of the Persian Yehud, which was a poor province with few people.⁷⁸⁸ We thus see how the Chronicler configures his

⁷⁸³ Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 222.

⁷⁸⁴ occurs most in the Psalter and Chronicles, showing an obvious Levitical usage: " , " *TDOT*, XIV: 614. occurs most in the Psalter (41 out of 49 in the HB).

⁷⁸⁵ DeClaissé-Walford, *Reading*, 90.

⁷⁸⁶ Tiño, *King and Temple*, 114–115; Wilson, *Editing*, 215.

⁷⁸⁷ Wallace, "What Chronicles," 275–276; William Doan and Terry Giles, "The Song of Asaph: A Performance-Critical Analysis of 1 Chronicles 16:8-36," *CBQ* 70 (2008): 37.

⁷⁸⁸ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 647; Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 233.

pre-understanding, affected by the exilic experience (behind the text), into the psalm (within the text) in order to invite an active participation of his audiences (in front of the text). The chanting of Asaphites thus encouraged all Israel back to their historical root in the patriarchs: the everlasting covenant.

The Chronicler again employs his technique of identifying his audiences in 16:13, where “Israel” substitutes “Abraham” to designate his audiences as true Israelites,⁷⁸⁹ and in 16:15, where the verb “remember” has been amended from Qal perfect to imperative.⁷⁹⁰ This constructs a parallelism in 16:12 and 16:15 by a twofold imperative, “remember”, identifying “his wonders” with “his covenant”. Thus the historical wonders of YHWH and the worldwide security “in all the earth” (), as guaranteed by YHWH’s judgments (16:14), formed the basic understanding of YHWH’s covenantal faithfulness in the arena of history. YHWH made an everlasting covenant with Abraham (16:16; cf. Gen 17:2; 22:16-18) and made an oath to Isaac (16:16; cf. Gen 26:3). He established the covenant to Jacob as statute (16:17; cf. Gen 35:9-13) and promised the portion of their inheritance (16:18). This not only summarises the story of Gen 15-35 but also lays a covenantal foundation for the stability of the land (16:21-22) under YHWH’s universal sovereignty, even though Israel was scant in number. With regard to the continuity of this covenant (cf. 16:17b) with the Davidic covenant, Riley writes,

[T]his continuity between the Temple and Abraham is indicated by the identification of the Temple mount with Mount Moriah in 2 Chron. 3.1, as well as by the motif of security in the land [here Riley quotes 1Chr 16:15-18]. Thus while all Israelites share in the covenant relationship with Yahweh, those who adhere to the Jerusalem cultus truly constitute Israel for

⁷⁸⁹ Trent C. Bulter, “A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era (1Chr. XVI 8-36),” *VT* 28 (1978): 142; Doan and Giles, “Performance-Critical Analysis,” 36.

⁷⁹⁰ McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 148; Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 137; Wallace, “What Chronicles,” 270.

the Chronicler, since they are the ones who have remained faithful to the covenant relationship begun with Abraham and who consequently inherit its promises.⁷⁹¹

We thus see how the Chronicler transfers the Abrahamic covenant into the temple. When the Levitical singers chanted this psalm, they actually proclaimed YHWH's covenantal faithfulness in historical terms, reclaiming the covenantal stability of the Promised Land. YHWH was faithful in the past. He was faithful in David's time. He had to be also faithful in Yehud. Therefore, the Levitical singers encouraged the community of Yehud to trust in YHWH's covenantal faithfulness, even though the citizen-temple community was still said to be "scant in number".

6.2.3.2. *YHWH's Global Rulership in All Nations (1Chr 16:23-30)*

16:23 begins with one instead of the three in Ps 96:1-2, in order to construct an *inclusio* with 16:9 and to emphasise the phrase "all the earth" (), "which makes it quite clear that there is a shift of address from the land of Israel to the whole world."⁷⁹² The choices of "nation" () and "people" () in 16:24, 26, 28, 31 identify that should be extended to an international realm and that "his wonders" (16:24) should be recounted among all the peoples.

This international awareness reflects the global outlook of Jews surrounded by world empires in the pre-Hellenistic culture. YHWH was not seen as a god restricted to the land of Israel but as the global, imperial God controlling all the nations. The case for his global authority is defended in 16:25-26, in which we can detect a polemic against Babylonian-Persian oppressors.⁷⁹³ 16:25 depicts the heavenly court,⁷⁹⁴ where

⁷⁹¹ Riley, *King and Cultus*, 191.

⁷⁹² Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 138.

⁷⁹³ Rüdiger Bartelmus, "šāmajim - Himmel: Semantische und traditionsgeschichtliche Aspekte," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 104–105.

⁷⁹⁴ This resembles the heavenly divine dwelling in the Mesopotamian worldview: *Ibid.*, 105.

all other gods fear and praise YHWH.⁷⁹⁵ 16:26 further propounds that “all the gods of the peoples are worthlessness”, showing a downgrading and demythologising stance towards foreign gods.⁷⁹⁶ Only YHWH was the prime creator of the heavens. We thus see how the pre-understanding of the temple as realised template issues in the Chronicler’s choice of this psalm. Moreover, 16:25-26 contains twice, a causative conjunction that provided motivation to praise.⁷⁹⁷ This makes explicit that the praise in the heavenly council before YHWH constituted the perpetual source of motivation for the earthly chanting of Levitical singers to encourage Israel in their liturgy. It is possible that their earthly chanting envisaged the heavenly praise, a concept that may have been inherited from Isaiah’s vision (cf. Section 4.2.2.1).

The appeal of the Levitical singers to the heavenly court in fostering an international stability can further be detected in 16:27, in which the Chronicler replaces “beauty” in Ps 96:6 with “joy” (), so that “strength” and “joy” are now “in his place” (). is the Chronicler’s technical term to denote a sacred sanctuary, especially Jerusalem (1Chr 13:11; 14:11; 15:1, 3, 12), or the heavenly sanctuary above Jerusalem (2Chr 6:21).⁷⁹⁸ A metaphorical interpretation of “strength” and “joy” suggests that YHWH’s presence (symbolised by the ark, i.e. “strength”⁷⁹⁹) and worldwide, joyful stability were in his holy sanctuary. The transfer of the “ark/strength” accompanied by the “joyful” chanting (15:16, 25) of the Levitical singers to the “place” prepared by David (15:1; 16:1) creates an exact parallel to “strength” (), “joy” (), and “place” () in this hymn. Since 16:25-26

⁷⁹⁵ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 648–649.

⁷⁹⁶ Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 465.

⁷⁹⁷ Mark A. Throntveit, “Songs in a New Key: The Psalmic Structure of the Chronicler’s Hymn (1Chr 16:8-36),” in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*, ed. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 170.

⁷⁹⁸ Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 138–139; Robert Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David’s Transfer of the Ark*, LHB/OTS 470 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 183.

⁷⁹⁹ See footnote 747.

envisages a heavenly setting, it is not difficult to see how the musical performance of the Levitical singers in the earthly transfer of the ark (1Chr 15-16) symbolised (or prophesied) the heavenly presence of YHWH and the heavenly joy. Both the literary context and the inset psalm itself unambiguously point to the central focus on (cf. the temple as the “place” for the ark, 2Chr 5:7-8) and the divine presence (symbolised by the ark) in relation to the Levitical chanting and the temple as realised template. Although the temple had not yet been built, this literary pattern creates an exact parallel to the transfer of the ark to Solomon’s temple (2Chr 5:2-14),⁸⁰⁰ envisaging the concept of the temple as realised template.

16:28-30 gives a call to all the peoples to ascribe to YHWH (with the threefold imperative “ascribe”) his global rule. Only YHWH deserved exclusive worship and fear in “all the earth” () (16:30). Thus this section begins and ends with (16:23, 30) in order to give an all-embracing impression of worship in the worldwide realm. The Chronicler moves Ps 96:10b forward and joins it with Ps 96:9b in 16:30. This scribal editing gives a concluding statement on worldwide stability (i.e. “the world will be established and not be shaken”) to end the section. It is implied that all nations could experience this stability through the terrestrial chanting of the Levitical singers that replicated the celestial chanting of the heavenly court.

6.2.3.3. *YHWH’s Kingship in Universal Praises (1Chr 16:31-33)*

16:31 starts with the heavenly and earthly rejoicing, involving a coherence between heaven and earth that directs the theme of the third section: the universal praises. The Chronicler places Ps 96:10a after Ps 96:11a in 16:31 and alters the imperative “say!” to the imperfect jussive “let them say”, in order to connect “the rejoicing of nature and

⁸⁰⁰ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 574; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 213.

the acknowledgment of God by humankind”.⁸⁰¹ This scribal editing upgrades the reign of YHWH from among the nations to the creation by putting the proclamation “YHWH reigns!” into the mouths of heaven and earth (16:31). The Chronicler may have been influenced by the temple as realised template to upgrade the kingship of YHWH from the international (Ps 96:10) to the realm of creation (16:31). This not only matches the theological reaction to the failure of human kingship in the editing of Book IV of the Psalter⁸⁰² but also shares the Mesopotamian God-king conception that culturally intensified the Jewish reflection on YHWH’s global kingship.⁸⁰³

The singers captured this theological substance and chanted the celebration of YHWH’s kingship by inviting the sea, the field (16:32), and the trees (16:33) to join in proclaiming, “YHWH reigns!” This is imagery from Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 44:23; 49:13; 55:12),⁸⁰⁴ in which the word “shout with joy” () (cf. 16:33) is a recurring theme that describes the joyful praising of natural forces (cf. Ps 19:1-7). The heavenly beings are also said to “shout for joy” () (Job 38:7) when YHWH established the sockets and cornerstone of the world (Job 38:6). This heavenly picture corresponds to the joyful chanting of the Levitical singers during the foundation of the temple (Ezra 3:10-12; cf. 2Chr 5:11-14; 7:3-6).⁸⁰⁵ Therefore, when the Levitical singers chanted this psalm accompanied by their musical instruments (cf. in 16:9), they were imitating heavenly joyfulness under the universal judgments of YHWH, whose global kingship was being proclaimed (16:31).

⁸⁰¹ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:195.

⁸⁰² Wilson, *Editing*, 215.

⁸⁰³ Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 224–225.

⁸⁰⁴ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 466.

⁸⁰⁵ Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 103; John E. Hartley, *The Book of Job*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 495.

6.2.3.4. *YHWH's Covenantal Faithfulness and His Salvation (1Chr 16:34-36)*

16:34-36 concludes this inset psalm. It begins with the well-known liturgical refrain “Give Thanks () to YHWH, for he is good (), for his faithfulness () endures forever” (16:34), which provided two reasons (two) for Israel to give thanks based on two divine attributes: YHWH’s goodness and his faithfulness.

The Chronicler narrates this refrain in six different places in Chronicles. I also include one occurrence in Ezra, as shown in the following table:

1Chr 16:34	
1Chr 16:41	
2Chr 5:13	
2Chr 7:3	
2Chr 7:6	
2Chr 20:21	
Ezra 3:11	

As can be seen, the basic formula remains unchanged, showing that this should be seen as the core of this refrain. Ezra 3:11 depicts the fullest form with and appearing together to introduce the refrain. and correspond to the aforementioned scribal conventions, characterising the Levitical singers as scholar-singers. Moreover, this refrain was exclusively chanted by Levitical singers in all occurrences that were closely associated with the temple liturgy, such as the inauguration of the Solomonic temple (2Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6), the battle linked to the temple cult (2Chr 20:21), the establishment of the regular () worship (1Chr 16:37, 40) in a prepared sanctuary (1Chr 16:34, 41), and the celebration when the foundation of the second temple was laid (Ezra 3:11). Therefore, the proclamation of “his

faithfulness” () in relation to the tradition of the temple as realised template and the Levitical scribal-musical practices should be unmistakable.

What is the relationship between YHWH’s and the temple cult of Levitical singers? I believe that the concept of covenant that underlies the refrain is the intrinsic connection between YHWH’s and the temple. In her comprehensive study of , Sakenfeld concludes that the meaning of shifts from a secular to a religious usage in the post-exilic texts such as Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, in which YHWH’s was manifested in his salvation within his covenantal obligation toward his people.⁸⁰⁶ Although we have no evidence for suggesting close links between and in earlier usages,⁸⁰⁷ we have much evidence for such links in the post-Deuteronomistic literature such as Chronicles.⁸⁰⁸ Concerning this close affinity, Sakenfeld writes,

The occurrence in temple-associated psalms and prose contexts ... suggests the connection of the phrase [i.e. the refrain] with the theological tradition of Jerusalem and the Davidic covenant. Thus the general focus is more on God’s free commitment to his people than on Israel’s responsibility for covenant obedience as a “condition” for *hesed*.⁸⁰⁹

While it is true that the refrain focuses on YHWH’s unfailing faithfulness (or commitment) to his people (cf. 1Chr 17:13; 2Chr 6:14), the aforementioned conditionality of the Davidic covenant in Chronicles gives a nuanced understanding that covenant obedience was still Israel’s responsibility *not* for the divine but for covenantal stability. The Levitical proclamation of this refrain thus reminded Israelites about YHWH’s *unconditional* covenantal faithfulness (2Chr 6:14) in upholding the *conditionality* of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 28:7), so that Israelites could confidently

⁸⁰⁶ Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry*, HSM 17 (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1978), 151–168, 217–231.

⁸⁰⁷ “ ,” *TDOT*, V:52-53.

⁸⁰⁸ “ ,” *TDOT*, V:60-61. occurs most frequently in the Psalter and Chronicles throughout the HB: “ ,” *TDOT*, V:45. This probably suggests that is a favourite term for the Psalter and Chronicles.

⁸⁰⁹ Sakenfeld, *Hesed*, 167.

appeal to the temple in averting wrath and fostering worldwide stability. We thus see that YHWH's was a constant factor in sustaining the Davidic covenant.

The Chronicler does not allow for this refrain to be chanted as an abstract proposition of God. Rather, its placement in 16:34 echoes YHWH's historical faithfulness in the covenantal experience of the patriarchs (16:15-22) and thus becomes a perfect conclusion for this hymn. The references in 2Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21 also mention several direct encounters with YHWH, whose glory filled the temple and whose deliverance came during any threat. All these experiences form an experiential context in which the Levitical singers worshipped YHWH on behalf of all Israel, proclaiming YHWH's covenantal faithfulness.

How can we explain the connection between YHWH's in 16:34 and the salvation and deliverance in 16:35?⁸¹⁰ Scholars have agreed that YHWH's contains the connotations of "salvation" and "deliverance" based on his covenantal obligation to his people in the post-exilic lament traditions.⁸¹¹ It was thus essential for the Levitical singers to proclaim the covenantal faithfulness in order to remind Israelites of the hope of deliverance. Bulter gives a lucid description of the Chronicler's configuration:

The literary context, i.e., the celebration of the foundation of the Jerusalem cults, calls for thanksgiving. The historical context, i.e., the post-exilic community, calls for a plea of deliverance. The historical context with its subjugation to foreign rulers also calls for literary subtlety and restraint. To speak to this situation, the editor chooses the literary medium of cultic liturgy. He refuses to write something new. Rather, he takes up the old, the traditional, and creates a new arrangement. He then places this into a new literary context, that of the Chronicler's history.⁸¹²

⁸¹⁰ The Chronicler alters his *Psalms-Vorlage* (Ps 106:47) here by inserting "God of salvation" and "deliver us" in 16:35: see footnote 776-777.

⁸¹¹ Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody*, 91; Sung-hun Lee, "Lament and the Joy of Salvation in the Lament Psalms," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, SVT 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 233-239; Sakenfeld, *Hesed*, 167-168, 212-213, 218-231.

⁸¹² Bulter, "Forgotten," 145.

Thus the theme of “deliverance” becomes the emphasis of Jews facing the challenge of their Babylonian-Persian oppressors.⁸¹³ The plea for deliverance was probably a burning issue for the Chronicler in his configuration of his Psalms-*Vorlage* in order to show that the scribal-musical service of the Levitical singers was irreplaceable when it came to making an appeal to the Davidic covenant for YHWH’s salvation.

16:36 is a doxology that concludes the psalm. It also ends with . These two elements show the scribal conventions of the editors of the Psalter. The response of all the people with “Amen” was an antiphon to the chanting of the Levitical singers, showing an active participation of Israelites. This faithfulness is portrayed as believable and “Amen-able”. Therefore, the Levitical singers are shown encouraging people to trust in YHWH’s covenantal faithfulness in order to foster covenantal stability. This covenantal faithfulness was seen to stem from the temple as the place that realised the Davidic covenant. The psalmic conclusion of Solomon’s prayer (2Chr 6:41-42), to which I now turn, will also increase our understanding in this respect.

6.3. The Psalmic Conclusion of Solomon’s Prayer in 2 Chronicles 6:41-42

I intend to argue in this section that the presence of hymnic traditions at the conclusion of Solomon’s prayer in 2Chr 6:41-42 indicates a Levitical-scribal editing according to the covenantal theology that is reflected in the liturgical refrain. I offer my translation of 2Chr 6:41-42 and then I unfold my arguments.

6.3.1. Translation

6:41 וְעַתָּה קוּמָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְנוֹחָךְ Ar Arise now,⁸¹⁴ YHWH God,⁸¹⁵ to your resting
 אֶתְּה וְאֶרְיוֹן עֲגֹד כְּהִנֵּיךְ יְהוָה] place!⁸¹⁶ You and the ark of your strength! Let

⁸¹³ Cf. Klein, “Psalms,” 269; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 651.

⁸¹⁴ Ps 132:8 lacks “now” ().

אַלֶּהִים יִלְבָּשׁוּ תְּשׁוּעָה וְחַסְדֶּיךָ your priests, YHWH God, put on salvation!⁸¹⁷ Let
your faithful ones⁸¹⁸ rejoice⁸¹⁹ in goodness!⁸²⁰

6:42 יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אַל־תִּשָּׁב פָּנָי YHWH God! Do not turn away the faces of your
אֲשֵׁי־יָדֶיךָ זָכְרָה לְחַסְדֵי דָוִיד anointed ones!⁸²¹ Remember the faithfulness of
עַבְדְּךָ: פ David your servant!⁸²²

6.3.2. Comments

The Chronicler's omission of 1Kgs 8:50b-51, 53 and his supplementation of Ps 132:8-10 in 2Chr 6:41-42 generate a climax that articulates the global control of YHWH (i.e. rest) after the ark had been settled within its resting place in the temple (cf. 1Chr 28:2).⁸²³ This invoked the acceptance of the burnt-offering, symbolised by the descending of the heavenly fire (2Chr 7:1), and the divine presence, symbolised by YHWH's glory. Many have agreed that this is reminiscent of 1Chr 21:26, in which David is described as witnessing the heavenly fire coming down to consume the burnt-offering at the threshing floor of Ornan, the place where Solomon built YHWH's temple (2Chr 3:1) (cf. Lev 9:24 and Exod 40:34).⁸²⁴ As such, the "fire" (1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 7:1) acts as an *inclusio* to bracket David's preparation for the temple (1Chr 22-29) and Solomon's construction of the building (2Chr 3-6).

As argued in Chapters Four and Five, the Chronicler's temple is best understood by the concept of the temple as realised template within the conditions of the Davidic

⁸¹⁵ Ps 132:8 reads "YHWH" for "YHWH God". The phrase "YHWH God" also appears in 6:41b and 6:42, and does not appear in Ps 132:9-10.

⁸¹⁶ Ps 132:8 reads for .

⁸¹⁷ Ps 132:9 reads "righteousness" () for "salvation" ().

⁸¹⁸ G reads "and your sons" (לְבָנֶיךָ). G-Ps 131:9 reads "and your faithful ones" (לְבָנֶיךָ הֵאֱמָנִים). MT is to be preferred.

⁸¹⁹ Ps 132:9 reads "shout for joy" (שִׂמְחָה) for "rejoice" (רִיעָה).

⁸²⁰ Ps 132:9 lacks "in goodness" (בְּטוֹבָה).

⁸²¹ Ps 132:10 reads singular. Mss of 6:42 support the reading of Ps 132:10. MT is to be preferred.

⁸²² Ps 132:10 lacks . 6:42 lacks .

⁸²³ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:350–351.

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 1:353–354; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 609; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 222.

covenant for fostering worldwide stability. The “fire” brackets the designation of the temple as an introduction (1Chr 21:26) and a conclusion (2Chr 7:1), symbolising the connection between heaven and earth. But why does the Chronicler choose to place 2Chr 6:41-42 before the descending fire (2Chr 7:1) as if this conclusion invoked YHWH’s presence? One possible answer is that the remembrance of YHWH’s covenantal faithfulness is a dominant theological device to convey the Chronicler’s basic understanding of the temple. In Kings, the Deuteronomistic conclusion (1Kgs 8:50b-53) explains that the ground for YHWH’s presence was his special relationship with the Israelites in the Exodus. But in Chronicles, the Davidic promise became the ground for YHWH’s acceptance.

First, the Chronicler’s most important alteration to the psalm is the addition of the phrase “remember the faithfulness of David your servant” () at 6:42 according to Isa 55:3b. The central issue is whether denotes a subjective or objective genitive. Some interpreters prefer the former, meaning the faithful deeds of David (cf. 2Chr 32:32; 35:26).⁸²⁵ Others favour the latter, meaning YHWH’s faithfulness towards David.⁸²⁶ A few embrace both readings, suggesting that the same phrase carries both the human and theological senses.⁸²⁷ I am inclined to agree with Williamson’s proposal, which offers a plausible argument in support of the reading of an objective genitive.⁸²⁸ While he builds on a thorough study on the phrase in the HB (esp. Isa 55:3), he does not explore the phrase in the literary context of 2Chr 6-7. I therefore wish to add three points:

⁸²⁵ Beentjes, *Tradition*, 174; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 605; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 51; Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:352.

⁸²⁶ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 221; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 345; Wallace, “What Chronicles,” 271 n16; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 99–100.

⁸²⁷ Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 114; Sakenfeld, *Hesed*, 157–158.

⁸²⁸ H.G.M. Williamson, “‘The Sure Mercies of David’: Subjective or Objective Genitive?,” *JSS* 23 (1978): 31–49.

1. The Levitical singers proclaimed “his faithfulness” () by chanting the liturgical refrain in 2Chr 7:3, 6. The here undoubtedly points to YHWH’s covenantal faithfulness towards David.
2. They proclaimed the refrain after the fire came down (2Chr 7:1). It can be understood as a proclamation of YHWH’s presence.⁸²⁹ This proclamation focuses on “his faithfulness” (). Therefore, it is natural to interpret that the fire came down because of the faithfulness of YHWH, not of David.
3. 2Chr 6:42 concludes Solomon’s prayer, and the fire came down just after 2Chr 6:42. This probably suggests that invoked the divine presence. Since the that the singers proclaimed belongs to YHWH, and since the singers proclaimed the divine presence, it seems clear that should be read as referring to “YHWH’s faithfulness towards David”; it is an objective genitive.

Furthermore, the theological foundation of the temple lay on the conditionality of the Davidic covenant, as mentioned in Chapter Five. This forms a theological basis for the service of Levitical singers. It thus seems natural to interpret as Solomon’s exhortation to the singers to remember (1Chr 16:4) the Davidic covenant before the Israelites. The Chronicler’s insertion of this phrase prepares a way to justify the chanting of the Levitical singers in proclaiming YHWH’s covenantal faithfulness.

Second, the Chronicler replaces “shout for joy” () with “rejoice in goodness” () (6:41). I see this as a backward projection of the liturgical refrain (2Chr 7:3), particularly the phrase , into 2Chr 6:41. The joy in goodness (2Chr 6:41) and the remembrance of YHWH’s faithfulness (2Chr 6:42) thematically coincide with the liturgical refrain. This shows a coherent progression from YHWH’s *goodness and faithfulness* (2Chr 6:41-42) to YHWH’s presence (2Chr 7:1) and then to the Levitical proclamation of his *goodness and faithfulness* (2Chr 7:3). Furthermore, the fulfilment

⁸²⁹ Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 110–114; Willi, “Evokation,” 357–358.

of “rejoice in goodness” () (2Chr 6:41) can be found in 2Chr 7:10: “He sent the people to their homes, joyful () and in good spirits because of the goodness () that YHWH had shown to David and to Solomon and to his people Israel” (NRSV). This not only shows that the goodness belongs to YHWH but also equates “his faithful ones” (2Chr 6:41) with “his people” (2Chr 7:10).

Finally, the Chronicler replaces “righteousness” with “salvation” (cf. Ps 132:16). As mentioned before, YHWH’s faithfulness is shown manifesting itself in the deliverance of his people under his covenantal obligation. It seems that the insertion of the “salvation” resembles the insertion of “deliver us” and “God of salvation” in 1Chr 16:35. This further supports the reading of an objective genitive for (because salvation comes from YHWH) and characterises the priests as needing YHWH’s salvation and faithfulness during the synchronisation of burnt-offering and song. The working of this synchronisation determined the liturgical role of the Levitical singers, and this will be explored in Chapter Seven.

6.4. Conclusion

The Chronicler’s insertion of psalmic traditions into his narrative characterises Levitical singers as professional scholar-singers in the literary world. The Levitical shaping of the Hebrew Psalter attempted to answer the challenge posed by the exilic experience of the failure of the old Davidic covenant. In this theological remodeling, the global kingship of YHWH was offered as a comfort for the Jewish diaspora. The Chronicler shares this essential theological reaction and reframes the earlier history by bringing forth the conditions (i.e. seeking God) of the Davidic covenant. In so doing, he highlights YHWH’s worldwide sovereignty according to a pre-understanding of the temple as realised template. Thus this study shows that the Chronicler and the editors of the Psalter were related in many theological issues with shared scribal conventions.

The comparison of scribal conventions between the editors of the Psalter and the Chronicler's hymnic insertions uncovers the Chronicler's characterisation of the Levitical singers as scholar-singers. First, 1Chr 16:4 shows that the Chronicler projects the scribal conventions (and) into his storyline, in order to characterise Asaph as professional scholar-singer comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests – being capable to compose (scribal) and to chant (musical) the inset psalm in 1Chr 16:8-36.

Second, the scribal-musical arrangement of this inset psalm directs our attention to the time of the patriarchs who made an everlasting covenant with YHWH. This not only matches the approach employed by the editors of the Psalter but also echoes the exilic experience of the citizen-temple community in diaspora. Although they were scant in number and always encountered difficulties, they could still obtain hope because YHWH was their global king. The Levitical scholar-singers sought to encourage people to rely on YHWH's global kingship and his covenantal faithfulness.

Third, the chanting of the liturgical refrain (esp. 2Chr 7:3, 6) and the psalmic conclusion of the Solomon's prayer (2Chr 6:41-42) are placed in such a way to form a bracketing structure to show that YHWH's presence (2Chr 7:1) was a result of YHWH's covenantal faithfulness towards David. The Levitical singers are portrayed as chanting the liturgical refrain, proclaiming YHWH's faithfulness, in order to remind Israelites about his commitment chartered in the Davidic covenant.

The citizen-temple community was small and poor. Their temple was not as large as were those of their surrounding neighbours. They even encountered severe oppressions, but the Chronicler's characterisation of the Levitical singers as professional scholar-singers sought to direct the attention of his contemporaries towards YHWH's covenantal faithfulness as the constant comfort and hope for deliverance. The underlying reasoning is that David and Solomon and their singers

could obtain covenantal stability. Therefore, the citizen-temple community could gain the same stability. Although they were “scant in number”, they could still expect covenantal stability because of the fostering service of the Levitical scholar-singers and YHWH’s covenantal faithfulness.

7. Double Synchronisations for Worldwide Stability: Song and Sacrifice in the Liturgical Context of Levitical Singers

During my discussion of 2Chr 6:41-42 in the previous chapter, I made a remark concerning the Chronicler's perception of priests needing God's salvation and covenantal faithfulness () in their sacrificial services. This is remarkable, because nowhere does the Pentateuch tell us that priests based their sacrificial services on YHWH's . But if we read the Chronicler's synchronisation⁸³⁰ of song and sacrifice (2Chr 5-7; 29-30; 35) in the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template, according to the Davidic covenant and YHWH's , we can understand why the Chronicler makes such a connection.

In this chapter, I intend to show that the temple worship described in Chronicles enacted the divine-human covenantal relationship through the synchronisation of the sacrificial and hymnic services. As have noted, there is a typological transfer from the tabernacle tradition to the Chronicler's depiction of the temple.⁸³¹ The priestly sacrificial system, formerly used as an enactment of the Mosaic covenant, is typologically recontextualised into a new setting as an enactment of the Davidic covenant. This radical recontextualisation involves Levitical music as a crucial element. The liturgical offerings of Levitical singers embodied the Davidic covenant so that when their songs were synchronised with priestly sacrifices, the sacrificial system was symbolically incorporated into the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template under the divine promise to David (1Chr 28:9-10, 20; 2Chr 7:12-22). In this new context, music and sacrifice were two indispensable elements in fostering worldwide stability; the synchronisation of song and sacrifice

⁸³⁰ "Synchronisation", for me, does not necessarily mean a strict temporal happening of sacrifice and song. I employ this term loosely to depict a collaboration of song and sacrifice, and a spatial coherence between heaven and earth.

⁸³¹ Williamson, "Accession," 351–361.

created another dimension of synchronisation, the coherence between heaven and earth. I wish to present this picture in this chapter.

First, I revisit the inauguration of Solomon's temple in 2Chr 5-7 and argue that YHWH's was the theological foundation of the well-being of the temple in the double-synchronisation. Second, I offer an exposition of Hezekiah's reinauguration of the temple (2Chr 29) to show how the synchronisation of song and sacrifice achieved the synchronisation of heaven and earth. Finally, I offer an exposition of Hezekiah's and Josiah's Passover (2Chr 30 and 35), in order to strengthen and verify my overall thesis. During my exposition, I explain the liturgical situation of Levitical singers in light of the exilic experience.

7.1. Solomon's Inauguration of the Temple Worship

7.1.1. The General Context: Sukkot

According to Chronicles, the Feast of Tabernacles (or Sukkot) formulated the literary context of Solomon's inauguration of the temple cult. Dillard offers a chiasmic structure of 2Chr 5-7, in which the summons and dismissal (2Chr 5:2; 7:10), sacrifice (2Chr 5:6; 7:4-5, 7), music (2Chr 5:11-13; 7:3, 6), and glory and cloud (2Chr 5:14; 7:1-3) frame the central episode of Solomon's prayer (2Chr 6:1-42).⁸³² The themes of sacrifice and music thus act as a literary bridge between the congregation (i.e. summons and dismissal) and the divine presence (i.e. glory and cloud).

The temple inauguration happened "at the festival () that is in the seventh month" (2Chr 5:3) (i.e. Sukkot). The Chronicler further specifies its exact schedule in 2Chr 7:8-10: following the regulations in Deut 16:13-15, Num 29:12-38, and Lev 23:33-36, Sukkot started from the fifteenth day of the seventh month for seven days

⁸³² Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 5–6.

(2Chr 7:8) with a holy convocation on the eighth day (2Chr 7:9), which was the twenty-second day of the month. He replaces “on the eighth day” in 1Kgs 8:66 by “on the twenty-third day of the seventh month” in 2Chr 7:10, in order to specify the exact date of the dismissal. He also adjusts the “fourteen days” in 1Kgs 8:65 to “the inauguration ()⁸³³ of the altar they did seven days and the festival seven days” in 2Chr 7:9, clarifying that the inauguration service did not overlap Sukkot. The inauguration was thus started from the eighth day of the seventh month for seven days, and was followed by Sukkot.⁸³⁴

Why does the Chronicler specify the exact schedule of the pilgrim feast, Sukkot, after the inauguration? First, he wishes to establish “the first precedent of pilgrimage to the new Temple in Jerusalem on the occasion of the most important of the three pilgrim feasts.”⁸³⁵ The centralisation of the newly inaugurated temple cult required “all Israel” to come to celebrate the .⁸³⁶ Due to his pre-understanding of the temple as realised template, the Chronicler narrates this inauguration not merely as a cultic initiation but also as the initiation of the communication between heaven and earth (2Chr 7:1) at this specific temple site, so that the people had to come to this centralised location to seek “the God of heaven” (2Chr 36:23).

Second, the recurring “seven” (2Chr 5:3; 7:8-10) probably symbolised the days of creation in Gen 1-2. The observance of Sukkot was perceived as an extension of the creation, and created order was thought to be fostered through ritually enacting God’s

⁸³³ I render as “inauguration” instead of “dedication”, partly because this ceremony concerns not the dedication of the temple to God but its inauguration and because its etymology does not specify “dedication” but “initiation”: “ ,” *TDOT*, V:19-21; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 592.

⁸³⁴ Most commentators support this interpretation except Johnstone, who thinks that the inauguration service merged with Sukkot: Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:356. Japhet observes an inconsistency at 2Chr 5:3, describing that the people were gathered “at the feast”: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 612. McKenzie also wonders how the Chronicler handles Yom Kippur if the inauguration overlaps with it: McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 249. However, we should stay with the clearest evidence in 2Chr 7:9 and affirm the separation of the inauguration service and Sukkot.

⁸³⁵ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 611.

⁸³⁶ designates a pilgrimage to a temple: Haran, *Temples*, 290–293.

complete creation from chaos to order.⁸³⁷ This temporal symbolism resembles the liturgical practices of the *kalû*-priests, who had to perform their rites at the right time with the right procedure in its greatest details with a view to preventing any harm to their kings and to fostering creation order (cf. Section 2.4.1).

Finally, the Chronicler emphasises the holy convocation on “the eighth day” (2Chr 7:9) by retaining the phrase “the eighth day” from 1Kgs 8:66 and clarifying the twenty-third day of the month as the dismissal day, indicating that the people could observe the holy convocation as a whole. The complete observance of this holy convocation without any interference is very important because its completeness equates to holiness⁸³⁸ and signifies the holy inauguration of the new temple. Milgrom points out that “[t]he eight days celebrating the inauguration of the tabernacle became a paradigm for subsequent temple inaugurations.”⁸³⁹ This should make sense in light of the Chronicler’s typological transfer of the tabernacle tradition to the temple.

To summarise, the Chronicler describes a detailed schedule for the inauguration service and Sukkot, in order to clarify that this was a sanctified moment, starting the sacred cult. His pre-understanding of the temple as realised template probably influences him to specify the sanctification of time to symbolise the seven-day ordering of creation. This forms the literary context in which the synchronisation of song and sacrifice is presented.

7.1.2. Comments on 2Chr 5:11-14

1Kgs 8:10 informs us that a cloud filled YHWH’s temple just after the priests came out from the holy place after transferring the ark. The Chronicler, however, inserts

⁸³⁷ Gorman, *Ideology*, 215–228, esp. 224–225.

⁸³⁸ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 152–153. I follow Douglas to define “holiness” as “completeness” in maintaining proper boundaries and categories within the created order: Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002), 63–71.

⁸³⁹ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 593.

2Chr 5:11-13a into this verse. This insertion bridges the congregational gathering and sacrificing (5:6), and the divine presence (5:13b-14).⁸⁴⁰ Apparently, the installation of the ark (5:7) and the congregational sacrifice (5:6) were not sufficient to evoke the divine presence, probably because they belonged to only one part of the (1Chr 28:11-19). 1Chr 28:13 calls for a full use of the divisions of priests and Levites. Therefore, the Chronicler supplies his *Sondergut* (5:11-13a) here, in order to illustrate how the Levitical service helped to realise the :

5:11 And when the priests went out from the holy place, for all the priests who were present had consecrated themselves without keeping divisions,⁸⁴¹

5:12 and the Levitical singers, of all of them, of Asaph,⁸⁴² of Heman, of Jeduthun, and of their sons and of their brothers, were being clothed with byssus, with cymbals, and with harps and lyres,⁸⁴³ standing east⁸⁴⁴ towards the altar, and with them priests of one-hundred-and-twenty trumpeters⁸⁴⁵ with trumpets;

5:13 and when the trumpeters⁸⁴⁶ and the singers *were* as one to cause *themselves* to hear one voice to

⁸⁴⁰ The cloud symbolised YHWH's presence (Exod 13; Num 9; Ezek 10:3-4): Jacob M. Myers, // *Chronicles*, AB 13 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 29.

⁸⁴¹ introduces the object "divisions": GKC §117n. Mss read – (i.e. the divisions). MT is to be preferred.

⁸⁴² G reads "sons of Asaph" (*šōnē ʾāšāp*), a synonym of "Asaph": GC, 2:150.

⁸⁴³ "Lyres" is governed by the preceding : GKC §119hh.

⁸⁴⁴ G reads "opposite" (*šēpār*) to the altar. There is no difference between "opposite" or "east" of the altar: Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 73.

⁸⁴⁵ Reading with the *qere*, ; *kethib* probably errs (cf. 1Chr 15:24).

⁸⁴⁶ Reading with *qere*, : see footnote 845.

לְהַלֵּל וּלְהוֹדוֹת לַיהוָה וּבְהַרְיִים praise and to give thanks to YHWH; and when they raised a voice with trumpets and with cymbals and with instruments of the song, and when they praised YHWH, “For he is good, for his faithfulness endures forever”, a cloud⁸⁴⁷ filled the temple,⁸⁴⁸ the temple of YHWH.⁸⁴⁹

The Chronicler uses particular choices of temporal clauses and tenses. In 5:6, he employs two participles, “those who were being gathered” () and “being sacrificing” (), to depict the congregational sacrifices before the ark. introduces a circumstantial asyndetic clause,⁸⁵⁰ which qualifies a continuous action of those gathered (). This means that they were continuously sacrificing before the ark until it was properly installed (5:7).⁸⁵¹ Then the Chronicler retains the temporal marker , already reflected in 1Kgs 8:10 (5:11), to introduce the temporal clause by means of an infinitive construct . He also imitates his *Vorlage* to construct two similar temporal clauses in 5:13: (1) and (2) , which are both introduced by a single . In so doing, three temporal clauses (“when the priests came out”, “when they raised a voice”, and “when they praised YHWH”) depict the three synchronised motions.⁸⁵² We thus see that the moment of the divine presence (5:13b-14) happened at the end of the sacrifice and at the start of the song, the moment at which the ark was completely installed.

The Chronicler includes music at the moment of the divine presence, probably because his temple was built according to the divine promise as envisaged by the

⁸⁴⁷ G reads ἔ ὄξης ἰ , probably influenced by 5:14: Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 40.

⁸⁴⁸ 1Kgs 8:10 reads .

⁸⁴⁹ Dillard omits “the temple of YHWH” as a gloss: Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 40. However, I retain it as an apposition to .

⁸⁵⁰ JM §159a.

⁸⁵¹ Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 77.

⁸⁵² Japhet, *Chronicles*, 580–581.

Davidic covenant. YHWH's faithfulness to his promise constituted the foundation of his presence in the temple. The Chronicler places the appearance of the divine presence during the moment when the singers praised YHWH with the liturgical refrain (5:13b), in order to convey that YHWH's *faithfulness* to his promise was *the* crucial element for his presence. This does not mean to convey that the installation of the ark and the sacrificial service were not crucial but that the priestly services had to be performed in collaboration with the Levitical chanting of YHWH's *name* for the divine presence to appear.⁸⁵³ If we accept that God's presence was the prerequisite for the well-being and blessing afforded by his power,⁸⁵⁴ then the Chronicler probably characterises the Levitical singers as the main tradents of the Davidic traditions, fostering covenantal stability in the remembrance of YHWH's *name*.

7.1.3. Comments on 2Chr 7:1-11

In Section 6.3.2, I argued that the conclusion of Solomon's prayer (2Chr 6:41-42), especially the phrase *וְהָיָה כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתָּ*, enabled the divine presence symbolised by the descending fire in 2Chr 7:1. In this section, I attempt to show that the synchronisation of sacrifice and song served as a pattern to inaugurate the temple cult in 2Chr 7:1-7:

7:1 Sacrifice *וַתִּשְׁלֹמֶה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל* And when Solomon had finished praying,
then the fire came down from the heaven
and consumed the burnt-offering and the
sacrifices. And the glory of YHWH filled
the temple.

⁸⁵³ Cf. David Janzen, *The Social Meanings of Sacrifice in the Hebrew Bible: A Study of Four Writings* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 209–242.

⁸⁵⁴ Levine, "Presence," 71–87.

- 7:2 וְלֹא יָבֹאוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים לְבֹא And the priests were not able to come towards the temple of YHWH,⁸⁵⁵ because the glory of YHWH filled the temple of YHWH.
- 7:3 Song And all the sons of Israel, seeing when the fire came down and the glory of YHWH *was* upon the temple, bowed down upon the pavement *with* faces towards earth, and they worshiped and gave thanks⁸⁵⁶ to YHWH, “For he is good, for his faithfulness endures forever.”
- 7:4 Sacrifice וְהַמֶּלֶךְ וְכָל־הָעָם זִבְחִים זָבַח Then the king and all the people⁸⁵⁷ were slaughtering sacrifice before YHWH.
- 7:5 וַיִּזְבַּח הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־זֶבַח And the king⁸⁵⁸ Solomon slaughtered a sacrifice⁸⁵⁹ of twenty-two thousand oxen, and one-hundred-and-twenty thousand⁸⁶⁰ sheep. So the king and all the people inaugurated⁸⁶¹ the temple of God.
- 7:6 Song And the priests were standing upon their watches, and the Levites, with the instruments of song of YHWH, which the

⁸⁵⁵ G reads $\dot{\epsilon} \quad \tilde{\omega} \quad \tilde{\omega} \dot{\epsilon} \quad \acute{\iota}$, an addition influenced by 2Chr 7:8. MT is to be preferred.

⁸⁵⁶ here is an infinitive absolute (but in the form of infinitive construct), acting as the continuation of the preceding finite verb : GKC §113z; JM §123q.

⁸⁵⁷ 1Kgs 8:62 reads “all Israel with him” for “all the people”.

⁸⁵⁸ 1Kgs 8:63 and G lacks “the king”, but G-1Kgs 8:63 retains “the king”. Cf. GC, 1:120.

⁸⁵⁹ 1Kgs 8:63 reads “the well-being offerings that he offered to YHWH” for “a sacrifice of”.

⁸⁶⁰ G^B lacks , an obvious homoioteleuton.

⁸⁶¹ takes double subjects while G takes the first, singular, subject “the king”: GC, 1:43.

king David had made, to give thanks to YHWH, “for his faithfulness endures forever”, when David praised through their agency.⁸⁶² When the priests were blowing trumpets⁸⁶³ in front of them, all Israel was standing.

7:7	Sacrifice	וַיִּקְדַּשׁ שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־תֹּדֶן	And ⁸⁶⁴ Solomon ⁸⁶⁵ consecrated ⁸⁶⁶ the middle of the court that was before ⁸⁶⁷ the temple of YHWH, for he offered there the burnt-offerings and the fats of the
		הַנִּחֲשָׁת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה שְׁלֹמֹה	well-being offerings, for the bronze altar
		לֹא יָכוֹל לַהֲכִיל אֶת־הָעֹלָה	that Solomon had made was not able ⁸⁶⁸ to contain the burnt-offering and the grain offering and the fats.

In Section 2.4.2, I noted that Gudea of Lagash stationed musicians in his newly built temple, so that their music could attract the divine presence. He also received a heavenly template to build Nin irsu’s temple and prayed for divine presence. This ancient concept of “template” was received in the Neo-Babylonian Esagila temple of Marduk, which was seen as a counterpart of various layers of divine residences (Section 2.4.2). Furthermore, the Mesopotamian liturgical practice of synchronised song and sacrifice is depicted in various ritual texts of *kalû* (Section 2.4.1) as an

⁸⁶² Literally, “through their hands”.

⁸⁶³ Reading with *qere*, see footnote 845.

⁸⁶⁴ 1Kgs 8:64 reads “on that day”.

⁸⁶⁵ 1Kgs 8:64 reads “the king” for “Solomon”.

⁸⁶⁶ 1Kgs 8:64 reads Qal perfect for waw-consecutive.

⁸⁶⁷ G reads ע . MT is to be preferred.

⁸⁶⁸ 1Kgs 8:64 reads “that was before YHWH was too small” for “that Solomon had made was not able”. This highlights the abundance of sacrifices instead of the smallness of the altar. This also emphasises Solomon’s bronze altar: Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 350; Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:355.

attempt to foster the well-being of kings linked with the concept of the temple as realised template. Tuell believes that the concept of divine presence reflected in the Gudea Cylinder is similar to that depicted in the Chronicler's inauguration of Solomon's temple, in which YHWH's glory filled the temple; Gudea is similarly depicted as requesting Nin irsu's glorious presence.⁸⁶⁹

The Chronicler's relation of liturgical music to the divine presence, a concept similar to its Mesopotamian counterpart, constitutes a major difference from Samuel-Kings. For him, ritual music could attract (2Chr 5:11-14) and proclaim (2Chr 7:1-7) the divine presence. It could even be synchronised with sacrifices to promote the well-being of all Israel. This parallel situation can be explained by the fact that music in the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture was highly esteemed, belonging to the professional practices and norms,⁸⁷⁰ so that the Chronicler probably reaffirmed music in relation to the divine presence to upgrade the significance and authenticity of the temple comparable to other temples in defiance of the Babylonian-Persian challenges during his reflection on the exilic experience.

As shown in my translation and its structure, the Chronicler inserts his *Sondergut* (2Chr 7:1b-3, 6) into his *Vorlage*, constructing an interlacing pattern of sacrifice-song-sacrifice-song-sacrifice. I argue that the first sacrifice-song is the heavenly inauguration, while the second sacrifice-song is the earthly inauguration. The term "heavenly inauguration" designates the inauguration of earthly worship by heavenly, divine initiation. The term "earthly inauguration" means the continuation on earth of the pattern established by the "heavenly inauguration". This inauguration takes a similar form to Gudea's inauguration and the ideology of the Esagila temple of Marduk, in which "liturgical music", "divine presence", and "heavenly temple" also

⁸⁶⁹ Steven Shawn Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1989), 129–130.

⁸⁷⁰ Ziegler, "Music," 288–312.

occupied a central significance. It must be noted that the Chronicler would have known nothing about the Gudea Cylinder written about 1,500 years before his time. A textual comparison between the two passages does not show any sign of literary dependence;⁸⁷¹ thus this appears to be not direct literary borrowing but the use of shared themes that were reaffirmed to suit the agendas of the citizen-temple community and to authenticate inauguration of the temple.

7:1 and 7:3 contain two temporal clauses, “when Solomon had finished praying” and “when the fire came down”. This indicates that all the verbs surrounding the two temporal clauses denote simultaneous circumstances. The actions “Solomon finished his prayer”, “the fire came down”, “YHWH’s glory filled the temple”, “Israelites bowed down”, and “they gave thanks” are depicted as concurrent. The Chronicler thus synchronises the divine presence (fire and glory⁸⁷²), sacrifices, and music.

How should we interpret the text in a way that shows this synchronisation? First, the Chronicler borrows the “descending fire” from Lev 9:23-24 and replaces the congregational “shout for joy” () in Lev 9:24 with the congregational chanting of the liturgical refrain in 7:3.⁸⁷³ Lev 9:23-24 concludes the inauguration of the altar in the tabernacle. The “fire” not only socially legitimised the priestly authority but also symbolically denoted a legitimate altar site at which to access the divine encounter. Many have agreed that the fire from heaven symbolised the divine acceptance of the offerings and legitimised the temple site.⁸⁷⁴ David encountered the same heavenly fire when he built his altar on the threshing floor of Ornan (1Chr 21:26), the legitimate temple site (Section 4.3.1). The descending fire in 7:1, patterned after 1Chr 21:26, would have confirmed the temple’s function in averting wrath. Anthropologists think

⁸⁷¹ See appendix C10 for the Gudea Cylinder A.

⁸⁷² Fire and Glory are similar symbols for the divine presence: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 589–590.

⁸⁷³ Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 119.

⁸⁷⁴ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 222; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 248; Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 114; Myers, *II Chronicles*, 40.

that fire represented a gateway to the other world and established a communication channel for divine power and blessing to the human world.⁸⁷⁵ The holy flame was supposed to be perpetuated and never to die out, in order to ensure the divine acceptance of subsequent offerings.⁸⁷⁶ The earthly sacrificial system is thus shown to have been inaugurated by the heavenly divine fire, the heavenly inauguration.

Second, the first sacrifice for the heavenly inauguration of the altar was the burnt-offering (7:1).⁸⁷⁷ This offering can be interpreted as (1) transforming victims into smoke as a soothing fragrance (Lev 8:21) in order to avert wrath (1Chr 21:26),⁸⁷⁸ (2) as attracting the divine presence (Exod 29:42-43),⁸⁷⁹ or (3) as a gift in return for God's aid.⁸⁸⁰ This offering was probably the first because (1) it is the only sacrifice depicted as "going up" both at the etymological level and the symbolic level;⁸⁸¹ (2) it attracted the divine presence from heaven; and (3) it is reminiscent of 1Chr 21, designating the temple site and the altar as the place for averting wrath. This does not mean that there was wrath during Solomon's inauguration, but it symbolised the theological significance of the temple in averting subsequent wrath. Therefore, the burnt-offering, consumed by the holy flame, symbolised the maintenance of creation order, which was the theological context for the divine wrath.⁸⁸²

Finally, according to Chronicles, the Israelites bowed down to worship YHWH by giving thanks with a liturgical refrain, a proclamation of YHWH's as envisaged

⁸⁷⁵ Leach, *Culture*, 88.

⁸⁷⁶ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 591; Stephen A. Geller, *Sacred Enigmas: Literary Religion in the Hebrew Bible* (London: Routledge, 1996), 73.

⁸⁷⁷ The first sacrifice performed on the altar of the second temple was also burnt-offering during Sukkot (Ezra 3:3-4): Tuell, *Chronicles*, 130-131.

⁸⁷⁸ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 175; Frank H. Gorman, *Divine Presence and Community: A Commentary on the Book of Leviticus*, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 23; Gorman, *Ideology*, 126; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 111. For the expiatory function of burnt-offering and how and usurped its expiatory function, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 175-177.

⁸⁷⁹ B.A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel*, SJLA 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 22-27; Levine, "Presence," 80; Klawans, *Purity*, 69-70.

⁸⁸⁰ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 441; Gray, *Sacrifice*, 3.

⁸⁸¹ " , " *TDOT*, XI:77, 81-82.

⁸⁸² Gorman, *Divine Presence*, 23.

by the Davidic covenant (cf. Section 6.2.3.4). This supplements the synchronisation of heaven and earth with the divine . YHWH was seen to offer his presence according to his . Therefore, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 7:1-3 is a fusion of many traditions (e.g. the tabernacle, the Davidic covenant, and the sacrificial system).

After describing the heavenly inauguration of the earthly sacrifice, the Chronicler moves back to his *Kings-Vorlage* in 7:4-5 to describe Solomon's earthly sacrifices. These sacrifices helped Solomon and his people to "inaugurate the temple of God" (7:5) and can be interpreted as a continuation of the heavenly inauguration of the altar. In 7:4-6, the Chronicler employs four participles (, [x2], and) to depict another round of simultaneous actions: sacrificing, standing, and blowing trumpet. As in the first round (7:1-3), song and sacrifice are depicted as synchronised with the congregational worship (standing) in 7:4-5. This follows the pattern established in the heavenly inauguration (7:1-3), in which the burnt-offering was synchronised with the chanting of the liturgical refrain. In this instance (7:6), the Levitical singers chanted in collaboration with priestly trumpeters, and YHWH's was once again proclaimed. The singers stood before the priestly trumpeters (or east towards the altar, in 2Chr 5:12) and acted as intermediaries between YHWH and all Israel,⁸⁸³ helping the Israelites to channel thanksgiving to YHWH and proclaiming the divine acceptance of their offerings based on his . Therefore, the interlacing pattern denotes two sequential rounds of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in both the heavenly and earthly inaugurations of the temple.

After Solomon's inauguration of earthly sacrificial service, he began to extend the realm of holiness to the middle of the court to accommodate a larger number of sacrifices, including burnt-offerings, well-being offerings, and grain offerings (7:7). I shall discuss different sorts of offerings in relation to the service of Levitical singers in

⁸⁸³ Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 73.

the next section. It is sufficient to comment here that the place of sacrifice had to be consecrated and free from impurity in order not to spoil the divine presence that had already been established in the inauguration. This profound concern for holiness and purity shares a similar concern with its Mesopotamian counterpart (Section 2.4.2), and this will be explored in the next section as well.

7.1.4. Summary

The synchronisation of song and sacrifice constitutes one of the most important innovations in the Chronicler's way of describing the service of Levitical singers. In his version of the inauguration of Solomon's temple, this synchronisation brings together the priestly tabernacle traditions and the Levitical Davidic covenant. When priests and Levites synchronised their rites, they helped to establish the synchronisation of heaven and earth and thereby foster creation order.

In this double-synchronisation, the attraction and proclamation of the divine presence were particularly important, because YHWH's presence ensured the well-being of all Israel. Levitical singers had to proclaim YHWH's and his acceptance of sacrifices, in order to remind the people of his gracious presence according to his . This reflects the social context of the Chronicler, who supplemented the sacrificial system with the concept of YHWH's in relation to his worldview of global tranquillity and rest,⁸⁸⁴ a worldview that stemmed from his pre-understanding of the temple as realised template and the experience of the exile.

Furthermore, the Chronicler chooses to place the inauguration of the temple at Sukkot. This affirms that he wants to communicate the importance of the scheduling of the inauguration service for fostering worldwide stability. I submit that Levitical chanting *in synchronisation* with the priestly sacrifice is portrayed as having

⁸⁸⁴ Janzen, *Social Meanings*, 209–242.

theological significance in achieving the synchronisation of heaven and earth and thereby promoting the worldwide stability envisaged by the Davidic covenant.

After the inauguration, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice became the practice of (2Chr 8:13-14). Song and sacrifice were regulated in the Jewish cultic calendar and daily offerings in order to mark temporal divisions in the created order.⁸⁸⁵ The Chronicler recontextualises this regularity within the context of YHWH's , which allowed the reverse of misfortune through repentance and celebrates his salvation and peace with joy and thanksgiving.⁸⁸⁶

7.2. Hezekiah's Reinauguration of the Temple Worship

According to the Chronicler, the -service of Levitical singers encountered a disaster due to the apostasy of Ahaz (2Chr 28). The Chronicler depicts Ahaz as acting in "trespass" () against YHWH (2Chr 28:19, 22). This forms the literary context for Hezekiah's reinauguration of YHWH's temple, and it is intriguing to explore the liturgical role of Levitical singers in Hezekiah's reforms.

7.2.1. The General Context: The Trespass of Ahaz

In P, was a trespass upon sancta and a sin against God (Lev 5:15, 21; Num 5:6). The Chronicler clearly puts as trespass against temple sancta (2Chr 26:16-18; 28:19, 22-25; 29:19).⁸⁸⁷ Another aspect of was the violation of covenant oath (Lev 26:15, 40; Ezek 17:18-20).⁸⁸⁸ Milgrom affirms that these two categories of were one, because "[b]oth trespasses are against the Deity. Moreover, trespass upon sancta is simultaneously trespass upon the covenant, since reverence for sancta is

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. Gorman, *Ideology*, 215–227; Hayward, "Sanctification," 141–167.

⁸⁸⁶ Janzen, *Social Meanings*, 225–228.

⁸⁸⁷ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 345–346; Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, 16–19; Williamson, *Israel*, 53.

⁸⁸⁸ Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, 19–20; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 348.

presumed in the covenant relationship.”⁸⁸⁹ It incurred YHWH’s wrath, based on his covenantal relationship with his people. Milgrom’s interpretation of , for me, is well-grounded, but the difficulty lies in Lev 5:15, which requires the expiation of through reparation offerings ().⁸⁹⁰ However, nowhere in 2Chr 29-32 do we find any performance of reparation offerings. How can this inconsistency be explained?

The only reparation that is described in Chronicles was David’s purchase of the threshing floor of Ornan at full cost for the purpose of averting the plague (1Chr 21:22-25) (cf. Section 4.3.1). The temple site thus symbolised this reparation as a base for the expiation of any trespass upon sancta and against God. This does not mean that reparation was a permanent factor in the temple site without exercise of human responsibility, because could accumulate to a certain extent without remedy (2Chr 36:14-16). Rather, the reparation effect of was probably absorbed, as I shall show, within the conditionality of the Davidic covenant in 1Chr 28:3-10 and 2Chr 7:12-22. 2Chr 28:3 describes that Ahaz practiced a cult “according to the abominations of the nations” (), similar to that of Molech (Lev 20:2), apostatised (2Chr 28:22-25), and polluted the temple with “the filth” () (2Chr 29:5) and “the uncleanness” () (2Chr 29:16). According to Klawans, this idolatrous worship was one of the three sinful practices that brought a moral defilement on the land of Israel (Lev 18:25) and the sanctuary of God (Lev 20:3). This defilement eventually led to an exile (Lev 18:28)⁸⁹¹ and threatened the divine presence, so that its accumulation

⁸⁸⁹ Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, 21.

⁸⁹⁰ I follow Milgrom’s rendering “reparation offering”: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 342.

⁸⁹¹ Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 26–27. Ritual impurity does not defile the land, while moral impurity does: Adolf Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, JCP 11 (London: OUP, 1928), 212–269. Some might blur the distinction between ritual and moral impurity: Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism*, SJLA 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1973). However, the distinction should be maintained according to the argument posed by Klawans and Büchler. For a helpful survey, see Klawans, *Impurity*, 3–20.

“undid” the effective observation of the inaugurated by Solomon.⁸⁹² How does the Chronicler handle this defilement?

The condition prescribed in 2Chr 7:14 was probably the theological foundation for the removal of the defilement of the land. The choices of “humble”, “pray”, “seek”, “turn”, “forgive”, and “heal” seem to be a fusion of priestly and prophetic traditions. Milgrom remarks that one priestly term for repentance was , which was later usurped by the prophetic term “turn” () in the Babylonian-Persian period.⁸⁹³ The Chronicler may incorporate (cf. reparation offering) into to establish the condition in 2Chr 7:14, so that constituted the ground for YHWH’s forgiveness and healing. This matches the original priestly doctrine of repentance, which required confession and remorse as preconditions for converting deliberate sin into an inadvertence that was eligible for sacrificial expiation that brought YHWH’s forgiveness.⁸⁹⁴ This forgiveness included the healing of the land and thereby the removal of the moral defilement from the earth.

Furthermore, the Chronicler may also have recontextualised as a hermeneutical key to describe a corporate and wilful trespass, which was originally perceived as an individual and inadvertent trespass in Lev 5:15-26.⁸⁹⁵ This tendency toward a more corporate and moral interpretation of would have demanded a more deliberate repentance, summarised as . As shall be shown, the language of 2Chr 7:14 dominates the speech, letter, and prayer of Hezekiah in 2Chr 29-30, so that it forms the foundation for the expiation and removal of Ahaz’s , and thus the divine wrath. This also strengthens my proposal that the chanting of YHWH’s

⁸⁹² Cf. Klawans, *Purity*, 71.

⁸⁹³ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 376–377.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid., 373–378; Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology*, SJLA 36 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 47–66. For a study of “forgiveness”, see Jay Sklar, *Sin, Impurity, Sacrifice, Atonement: The Priestly Conceptions*, HBM 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), 80–88.

⁸⁹⁵ Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus*, 99–106.

encouraged people to trust in God's promise (2Chr 7:14) in order to avert wrath and to promote worldwide stability.

7.2.2. Hezekiah's Speech (2Chr 29:5-11)

According to priestly traditions, YHWH's presence in his earthly abode ensured the security and well-being of the community. Impurity diminished the sanctity of the earthly sanctuary and drove away the divine presence.⁸⁹⁶ Impurity and defilement also attacked the ordered boundaries between holy and profane, between clean and unclean, so that they would collapse due to confusion.⁸⁹⁷ Therefore, the Chronicler characterises Hezekiah as a pious king who saw the restoration and purification of the temple as the first and most urgent task in the first month (29:3).⁸⁹⁸ Hezekiah opened the doors of YHWH's temple (29:3) and gathered priests and Levites (29:4) to encourage them to cleanse and consecrate the temple in his well-known speech:

29:5 "Listen to me, O Levites now! Consecrate

וְקִדְשׁוּ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי
you yourselves and consecrate the temple of YHWH
the God of your fathers, and bring out the filth
from the holy place."

29:6 "For our fathers have trespassed and have done

פָּשְׁעֵינוּ יְהוָה־אֱלֹהֵינוּ וַיַּעַזְבֵהוּ
the evil in the eyes of YHWH our God, and have
forsaken him, and have caused to turn their faces
from the dwelling place of YHWH, and have set
to him the back of their neck."

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. Levine, *Presence*, 76–77; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 258–259; Neusner, *Purity*, 13–14, 25.

⁸⁹⁷ Gorman, *Ideology*, 79–81; Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 40–55.

⁸⁹⁸ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 916. "The first month" here should refer to the first month of the year (Nisan), not of Hezekiah's reign (cf. 29:17): Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 463; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 922.

- 29:7 “They have also shut the doors of the porch,⁸⁹⁹
אֶת־הַנְּדָוֹת וְקִטְּרֹת לֹא and have extinguished the lamps, and have not
הַקְטִירוּ וְעָלָה לֹא־הָעֹלֹת burned incense, and have not brought up
בְּקֹדֶשׁ לֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: burnt-offering in the holy place⁹⁰⁰ to the God of
Israel.”
- 29:8 “So the wrath of YHWH was upon Judah and
Jerusalem, and he has given them terror,⁹⁰¹ and
horror, and hissing, as that you are seeing by your
eyes.”
- 29:9 “For behold, our⁹⁰² fathers have fallen by the
sword, and our sons and our daughters and our
wives are in the captivity for this.⁹⁰³”
- 29:10 “Now! It is with my heart to cut a covenant
לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיָשָׁב before⁹⁰⁴ YHWH God of Israel, so that his
burning anger will turn from us.”
- 29:11 “My sons!⁹⁰⁵ Now! Do not be negligent, for
YHWH has chosen you to stand before him and
to minister to him, in order to be ministering to

⁸⁹⁹ G reads \bar{u} \bar{u} , which is a standard rendering for \bar{u} : GC, 1:59.

⁹⁰⁰ G wrongly regards \bar{u} as an adjective (\bar{u} \bar{u}): GC, 2:13.

⁹⁰¹ “Terror” can either be *qere* (\bar{u}) or *kethib* (\bar{u}). MT’s vocalisation seems strange when compared with Jer 15:4, reading \bar{u} . Isa 28:19 takes *kethib* while Ezek 23:46 takes *qere*. The variation also appears at Jer 15:4; 29:18; 34:17: BDB, 266; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 465. This shows a strong influence from Jeremiah’s terminology. MT seems to allow us to interpret the word with reference to either Isaiah or Jeremiah, in which the two forms are likely to be equally traditional.

⁹⁰² Mss read “your fathers” (\bar{u}). G reads “your fathers” (\bar{u} \bar{u} \bar{u}) together with “your sons and your daughters and your wives”. Dillard explains it as “an intra-G confusion of \bar{u} and \bar{u} ”: Dillard, 2 *Chronicles*, 232. But G and Mss might intend to alter the Hebrew because the fathers of Hezekiah were not killed by the sword and were not taken to captivity: Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 465.

⁹⁰³ The phrase “for this” belongs to the beginning of 29:10 in G.

⁹⁰⁴ Hezekiah did not make a true covenant “with” YHWH but a whole-hearted commitment “before” YHWH: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 919; Japhet, *Ideology*, 88–91; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 353–354.

⁹⁰⁵ G lacks “my sons”. It might arise from a different *Vorlage* or a translator’s error: GC, 2:132–133.

him and burning incense.”

In this speech, the Chronicler freely draws on different traditions to address the contemporary concerns:⁹⁰⁶ the holiness and the purity of the temple. Levites were instructed to consecrate and cleanse the sanctuary to undo “the filth” ()⁹⁰⁷ that Ahaz brought into it (29:5), because Ahaz (and “our fathers”) “have trespassed” (), “have done the evil” (), “have forsaken him” (), “have turned their faces” (), and “have set *to him* the back of *their* neck” () (29:6). This variety of choices comes from the programmatic statements posed by the Davidic covenant to indicate those who did not fulfil the divine condition of “seeking God”.⁹⁰⁸

The doors of the porch are said to be closed in 29:7. “The porch” () was the tower-like structure that symbolised the place reaching the heaven (2Chr 3:4) (cf. Section 4.3.3). The closing of the doors of the porch thus symbolised a broken coherence between heaven and earth. The extinguishing of the lamp symbolised YHWH’s absence. The regular offering was stopped.⁹⁰⁹ This means that the usual communication between heaven and earth was abandoned. 29:8 borrows the language of the exile, especially that of Jeremiah;⁹¹⁰ “YHWH’s wrath” (), and “terror”

⁹⁰⁶ Von Rad thinks that the Chronicler follows a *Gattung* called “Levitical sermon” here: Gerhard von Rad, “The Levitical Sermon in I and II Chronicles,” in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 267–280. But it seems inappropriate to impose our concept of “*Gattung*”: Rex Mason, *Preaching the Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 1–4. Throntveit classifies this speech as oration without maintaining rigid *Gattungen*: Mark A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*, SBLDS 93 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987), 20, 32, 39–40.

⁹⁰⁷ A strong word that describes ritual impurity: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 917; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 353; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 464. It also describes the abominations arising from idolatry (e.g. Ezra 9:11). The context justifies that “the filth” refers to Ahaz’s apostasy.

⁹⁰⁸ appears at 1Chr 10:14; 12:24; 13:3 to describe the consequence of Saul’s not “seeking God”. appears at 1Chr 28:9, 20; 2Chr 7:19, 22 to describe the negative side of the Davidic covenantal conditions, and becomes an antonym of “seeking God”. occurs in a programmatic position (1Chr 10:13) to describe Saul, a type of those who did not “seek God”. is the opposite action of in 2Chr 7:14, a programmatic conditional statement. resembles the concluding statement explaining a reason for the exile in 2Chr 36:13.

⁹⁰⁹ The altar was built before the porch (2Chr 8:12; 15:8). Sacrifices offered on it would thus symbolise an upward movement towards heaven.

⁹¹⁰ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 353; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 918; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 464; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 341; Paul K. Hooker, *First and Second Chronicles*, WBC (London: Westminster John Knox,

() are used to describe the Assyrian exile, for example. The choice of language (also in 29:9) is strong proof of the Chronicler's exilic consciousness, in which the theological reflection on the trauma influenced the Chronicler's intra-Jewish exegesis (e.g. of Jeremiah) so that he reaffirmed the exilic traditions in articulating the theological consequence of the uncleanness and impurity of the temple.

Furthermore, the Chronicler includes the Levites in the restoration of the purity and holiness of the temple, and they restarted their regular ministry⁹¹¹ (29:11). This echoes the lingering concern of the citizen-temple community to restore the authentic temple cult, which needed Levites as the "chosen"⁹¹² personnel to perform such a holy task. Therefore, Hezekiah's speech forms a strong theological statement on the liturgical role of Levites and their responsibility for the holiness and purity of the temple to avert God's wrath and foster stability.

7.2.3. The Purification and Consecration of the Temple (2Chr 29:12-19)

In 29:12-15 there is a list of Levites, including singers (29:14), who were entrusted with purging the temple. The involvement of singers again echoes the Mesopotamian norms. The Mesopotamian ritual texts confirm that *kalû*-singers and exorcists worked together to purify the sanctuary and that they presented songs and sacrifices. The multi-professional profile of the Mesopotamian *kalû*-priests enabled them to handle various ritual tasks for fostering worldwide stability (Section 2.4.1). Likewise, we see here that the Levites could exercise multiple liturgical roles such as purification and singing. In light of the practices of the *kalû*-priests, the Chronicler may be speaking of Levites in terms of their professional roles in order to legitimise their activities.

2001), 249; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 416–417.

⁹¹¹ The double "minister" () appearing in 29:11 might indicate the priestly ministry to YHWH (the first) and the Levitical ministry to priests (the second): Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 233; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 417.

⁹¹² For the chosenness of Levites, see Japhet, *Ideology*, 71–73; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 919.

Furthermore, the Chronicler uses the term “minister” () (29:11, cf. 2Chr 31:2) to describe various liturgical roles of Levites such as music (1Chr 6:16-17; 16:4; 2Chr 8:14), carrying and ministering the ark (1Chr 15:2; 16:37), and gatekeeping (1Chr 26:12). Levites are also called “ministering Levites” (2Chr 23:6). This suggests a multi-functional “ministry” of Levites that resembles that of the *kalû*-priests.

Finally, the language employed in 29:6-11 suggests a strong reaction to the exile, which would have affected the literary configuration of Levites in Chronicles. This further demonstrates how the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context gives us insight into the Chronicler’s characterisation of Levitical singers as elite professionals, who were able to chant, prophesy, write, and purify for the purpose of worldwide stability.

In 29:16-19 there is a description of the complete purification⁹¹³ and consecration⁹¹⁴ of the temple, in which the consecration of the porch occupies the centre (i.e. the eighth day⁹¹⁵) of the sixteen-day project (29:17). The consecration of this tower-like structure represented a symbolic endeavour to reach heaven with holiness. The altar of burnt-offering and all the vessels were cleansed in order to prepare the “going up” of sacrifices and to restore the heavenly (1Chr 28:14). Priests and Levites were thus creating a holy communicative channel between heaven and earth during the cleansing.

7.2.4. The Blood Manipulation and the Purification Offering (2Chr 29:20-24)

From 29:20 onward, we encounter a complex procedure of sacrificial and hymnic services in the reinauguration of the temple cult. Rainey shows that the order of performing sacrifices in descriptive texts (e.g. 29:20-36) is different from the order

⁹¹³ appears at 29:15-16, 18 as piel “factive”, denoting purification acts: Sklar, *Sin*, 107.

⁹¹⁴ appears at 29:15, 17. 29:16 clearly shows gradations of spatial holiness: inner sanctuary (priests), court (transition), and Wadi Kidron (Levites). This re-established the boundaries of holiness, thus order: Gorman, *Ideology*, 88–89; Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 89–148.

⁹¹⁵ “Eight” is the basic number for inauguration and purification: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 594.

depicted in prescriptive texts. In the descriptive order, the purification offering⁹¹⁶ came first and was followed by the burnt-offering. The well-being offering came last.⁹¹⁷ Kleinig pushes Rainey's observation further and attempts to uncover the ritual significance of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice within the sacrificial order, in which Levitical singers proclaimed the acceptance of Israelite offerings and announced YHWH's presence, goodness, and faithfulness.⁹¹⁸

While their arguments make good sense,⁹¹⁹ some questions still remain unanswered in 29:20-36: Why did the blood manipulation of the purification offering not involve the sprinkling of blood on the curtain even though the atonement was for all Israel (cf. Lev 4:13-21)? Why did the blood manipulation of the burnt-offering appear at 29:22, a place separated from the actual performance of the burnt-offering at 29:27-29? How can the idea of the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template, in the context of the Davidic covenant, improve our understanding of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 29:25-30? What role did music play in the well-being offering in 29:31-36?

First, 29:21-24 concerns the purgation of the altar and the atonement for all Israel. 29:21 presents a list of animals for sacrifices. Bulls, rams, and lambs were used for burnt-offerings, while he-goats were used for purification offerings.⁹²⁰ The number seven signified the wholeness of the upcoming purification.⁹²¹ The list of animals follows that represented in the inauguration of the altar in Num 7:87-88,⁹²² and 29:22 describes the blood manipulation in great detail.

⁹¹⁶ I render as "purification offering": Ibid., 253–254.

⁹¹⁷ A.F. Rainey, "The Order of Sacrifices in Old Testament Ritual Texts," *Biblica* 51 (1970): 485–498.

⁹¹⁸ Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 100–131.

⁹¹⁹ This supports Levine's theory that the burnt-offering attracts the divine presence for covenantal communion, and purity is the prerequisite for the attraction: Levine, *Presence*, 20–27.

⁹²⁰ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 925; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 356; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 467.

⁹²¹ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 921.

⁹²² Ibid., 925; Hooker, *Chronicles*, 250; Tuell, *Chronicles*, 214; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 342.

Lev 4:13-21 prescribes the blood manipulation for the purification offering of the whole congregation (cf. “all Israel” in 29:24) that involved the sevenfold sprinkling of blood on the curtain (4:17) and daubing blood on the horns of the incense altar (4:18). However, these details are not represented in 29:22-24. This is unexpected because “curtain” (2Chr 3:14) and “incense altar” (1Chr 6:34; 28:18) are two particular highlights in the Chronicler’s *Sondergut*. The Chronicler’s preference for depicting the daubing of blood on the altar of burnt-offering creates an inconsistency with P. This inconsistency, however, can be explained based on the different location of YHWH’s glory between the priestly tabernacle and the Chronicler’s temple. Japhet observes that the cloud is described as falling *upon* the tabernacle and the glory filling it *from within* in Exod 40:34-35. The Chronicler seems to be equating “cloud” and “glory” and offers no sense of “from within”.⁹²³ I add that YHWH’s glory came at the same time as the descending holy flame in 2Chr 7:1-3. Therefore, YHWH’s glory is said to be *from within*, behind the curtain in the tabernacle, while it is described as *from above* in Chronicles. Gilders writes,

Since his “glory” (*k bôd*) abides in the Most Holy Place behind the curtain, when the anointed priest sprinkles blood toward this curtain he stands in close proximity to the manifest Deity and points to him – “indexes” him – with the gesture. The sprinkling of blood toward the abode of Yahweh’s presence indexes a relationship between the anointed priest and Yahweh, as well as between Yahweh and the community that the anointed priest represents inside the shine.⁹²⁴

Gilders’ theory of “indexing” denotes the instrumental aspect of blood manipulation in joining social connections. The priests sprinkled blood upon the curtain of the tabernacle to make a social connection to YHWH. The Chronicler probably alters this picture and specifically describes the daubing of blood on the altar of burnt-offering

⁹²³ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 581.

⁹²⁴ William K. Gilders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible: Meaning and Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 116.

(29:22) in order to signify a social connection between the people and the altar. Since this altar of “going up” occupies a central position in the symbolism of Chronicles (1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 7:1), marking the heavenly inauguration of the temple cult (Section 7.1.3), the daubing of blood on this altar (29:22) would effectively connect (or “index”) YHWH in heaven (YHWH’s glory is *from above*) and the people, through the altar.

Furthermore, the daubing of blood would have purified the altar for subsequent offerings (Lev 8:14-15).⁹²⁵ This ensured its purity, a prerequisite for divine-human encounter in the realm of holiness. The Chronicler thus feels obliged to align his description of events with his concept of the temple as realised template by separating the preparation for the burnt-offering (29:22) and its actual performance (29:27-28), because the communicative channel between heaven and earth needed be established in 29:22 as the prerequisite for both the purification offering (29:23-24) and the burnt-offering (29:27-28).⁹²⁶ The application of this heaven-and-earth dimension would have replaced the consecrating effect of the sprinkling of blood on the altar that is described in priestly writings.⁹²⁷ Thus the Chronicler departs from the blood-sprinkling rite prescribed in Lev 4:17-18 and focuses on the daubing of blood on the altar of burnt-offering, because YHWH’s presence here was more from above than from within. This highlights the symbolic coherence between heaven and earth as the precondition for the purification offering and the burnt-offering. This also gives a theological context for the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 29:25-30.

⁹²⁵ Gorman, *Ideology*, 83–89; Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 131–132. Milgrom thinks that the *blood* acts as ritual detergent to purge the sanctuary, but not a person: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 254–256. But “ritual disinfectant” might be more correct, because blood destroys impurity instead of removing it: Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 129–130. Recent research shows that blood in *Leviticus* rite purifies and ransoms (Lev 17:11): Sklar, *Sin*, 163–182. See also footnote 520.

⁹²⁶ Cf. Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 155.

⁹²⁷ Gilders and Milgrom plausibly argue that the daubing of blood “purified”, while the sprinkling of blood “consecrated” according to the logic that purity was the precondition of holiness: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1037–1039; Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 131–132.

Second, 29:23-24 depicts an actual procedure of purification offering as matching the first three steps (bringing in the victims, laying hands upon them, slaughtering them) of the priestly six-step procedure⁹²⁸ – except that priests, rather than laypersons, were responsible for slaughtering the victims (29:24).⁹²⁹ The next three steps, especially the tossing of blood, are probably omitted to highlight the daubing of blood in 29:22. Then, 29:24 describes how the priests “purified” () (or “de-sinned”)⁹³⁰ the altar with blood⁹³¹ in order to “atone for all Israel” (). The word has been much discussed. It probably means both “purify” and “consecrate”, and the juxtaposition of and means making an expiatory rite *on behalf of* someone.⁹³² Milgrom writes about the meaning of , “... all texts that assign to *kipper* the function of averting God’s wrath have *k per* in mind: the innocent life spared by substituting for it the guilty parties or their ransom.”⁹³³ Since the Chronicler depicts this -rite in the context of averting God’s wrath (29:8-10), we can interpret that the purification offering “ransomed” the lives of “all Israel”, lest they encountered divine wrath (a pattern after 1Chr 21:22).

Therefore, the divine wrath was averted due to the performance of the purification offering on the behalf of all Israel, and this becomes another theological context for the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 29:25-30.

⁹²⁸ Gary A. Anderson, “Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings,” in *ABD*, V:875.

⁹²⁹ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 2:195; Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 153–154.

⁹³⁰ and are synonymous except that the former word denotes the positive side, “to make pure”, while the latter designates the negative side, “to de-sin”. The context also suggests the rendering, “offered purification offering”: Sklar, *Sin*, 109–112.

⁹³¹ I take “the altar” as the direct object of , and render as “with their blood”. *Contra* Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 30.

⁹³² means consecrating a direct object, but in piel means consecrating on behalf of someone through the performance of a rite. It matches the fact that -blood is never applied upon a person, but upon sanctuary on behalf of a person: Sklar, *Sin*, 113; Milgrom, *Cultic Theology*, 76; Levine, *Presence*, 63–67.

⁹³³ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1082. Sklar contends further that the concept of “ransom” (*kōper*) relates to the context of sin: Sklar, *Sin*, 80–101.

7.2.5. The Synchronisation of Song and Burnt-offering (2Chr 29:25-30)

As has been shown, the holy communication between heaven and earth and the averting of God's wrath constitute two prerequisites for the synchronisation of song and sacrifice; the altar of burnt-offering (the heaven-and-earth connective point) had to be purified to make the upward movement of burnt-offering and song possible.

2Chr 29:25-30 depicts the synchronisation with two authorising statements, in 29:25 and 29:30, bracketing the central portion (29:26-29). Hezekiah stationed Levitical singers at YHWH's temple, with all Levitical musical instruments, and these singers played music "according to the command of David, and of Gad the royal seer, and of Nathan the prophet" (29:25). Then, 29:25b further specifies that this command was "by the directions of YHWH through the directions of his prophets."⁹³⁴ 29:30 describes how Hezekiah and his officials "instructed" () the Levites to praise YHWH "with the words of David and of Asaph the seer." These specifications of Davidic authority along with that of three major prophets show the Chronicler's emphasis on the Levitical singers' imitation of the prophetic model of David in order to foster covenantal stability (cf. Section 5.3.3.2). The bracketing structure (29:25, 30) encapsulates the middle portion (29:26-29) as if the synchronisation of song and sacrifice were embraced by the theological context of the Davidic covenant. This is evidence of the Chronicler's recontextualisation of the sacrificial system into the musical enactment of the Davidic covenant to foster worldwide stability.

The synchronisation of song and burnt-offering is described as follows:

29:27	And Hezekiah instructed <i>them</i> to bring up the burnt-offering on the altar. At the time <i>when</i> ⁹³⁵
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⁹³⁴ I render as "direction".

⁹³⁵ I supply "when" to reflect the omission of the retrospective word: GKC §155l.

the burnt-offering began, the song of YHWH

דָּגִיד מְלִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל: began with⁹³⁶ the trumpets, which⁹³⁷ was upon the instructions⁹³⁸ of the instruments of David King of Israel.

29:28

And all the assembly was worshipping, and the singers were singing, and the trumpets were sounding⁹³⁹ until⁹⁴⁰ the burnt-offering was completed.⁹⁴¹

As can be seen, the Chronicler uses one temporal clause () to specify precisely the synchronised timing for bringing up the burnt-offering and YHWH's song. The burnt-offering was the sacrifice *par excellence* for denoting the connection between heaven and earth, and the "fire" (1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 7:1) underlined the theological significance of the burnt-offering as the sacrifice to inaugurate vertical synchronisation and to avert God's wrath.

To this symbolic meaning of the burnt-offering, the Chronicler adds the hymnic synchronisation to give a sense of "mutual symbolisation", and thus the symbolic meanings of song and sacrifice were mutually enriched by one another. On the one hand, the symbolic meaning of the burnt-offering was enriched within the theological context of YHWH's faithfulness, as envisaged by the Davidic covenant through the Levitical singing. On the other hand, YHWH's song was enriched by the theological

⁹³⁶ I render this as *wāw concomitantes*: GKC §154a n1(b).

⁹³⁷ I render this as explicative referring to YHWH's song, not to the trumpets, in order to avoid the sense of trumpets being played under David's directions. Another proposal is "alongside": Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 80 n3.

⁹³⁸ is difficult because is not a person. G reads "with" (וְ) in an attempt to make it easier. MT is to be preferred.

⁹³⁹ Reading with *qere*: footnote 845.

⁹⁴⁰ G, S, V_g lack . The word seems strange grammatically, and it might be incorrectly duplicated according to at the beginning. MT is to be rejected.

⁹⁴¹ means "be complete", an opposite of in 29:27: BDB, 477. The infinite construct seems awkward. G reads "was completed" (הָיָה), a reading reflected in my rendering.

meaning of the burnt-offering in averting God's wrath and creating a connection between heaven and earth. The synchronisation of song and sacrifice is therefore presented as the gateway through which heavenly blessings were channelled to the earthly realm to nurture covenantal stability. This liturgical practice generally resembles certain procedures in the *kalû*-ritual, in which the collaboration of song and sacrifice was also important for fostering well-being and stability (Section 2.4.1).

Kleinig argues, from his understanding of the chiastic structure of 29:27-29, that the prostration of the congregation occupies the central position in the acknowledgment of YHWH's presence and acceptance. This follows the pattern already established in Solomon's inauguration.⁹⁴² My reading of Solomon's inauguration adds meaning to this prostration insofar as they acknowledged the divine presence as that promised by the Davidic covenant, and they affirmed the divine acceptance in the form of heaven-to-earth blessing, symbolised by the holy flame (2Chr 7:1) (cf. the heaven-to-earth motif in the *balag*-tradition in Section 3.1.2). The burnt-offering offered in 29:27-28 would have followed such a pattern, and its synchronisation with song would have added its theological significance in respect to nurturing covenantal stability. Thus the singers are portrayed as intermediaries, helping the people to acknowledge the divine presence and bestowal of worldwide stability (cf. the intermediate role of *gala*-priest in Section 2.2.3).

In fact, this stability is reflected in the mention of "joy" (29:30), which Japhet defines as "the conclusive expression of the fact that a deed has been executed with the whole heart."⁹⁴³ Endres proposes a chiastic structure in 1Chr 29:9, in which "whole heart" () stands at the centre with "rejoice" () at either side, so that "[i]t begins with popular rejoicing over the generosity of those who act with 'whole

⁹⁴² Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 120–122.

⁹⁴³ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 928.

heart' and then builds up to joyful rejoicing of the king."⁹⁴⁴ As such, this heavenly joy was probably transferred to the congregation through the singers' acknowledgment of the divine presence and the "wholeheartedness" of the congregation.⁹⁴⁵ It is precisely this "wholeness" (or "holiness" in Douglas' definition⁹⁴⁶) that restored the holy identity of all Israel (Exod 19:5-6; Lev 19:2) within the created order. Therefore, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice probably helped the Israelites to restore their place in the created order, in which "joy" was the main indicator of worldwide stability achieved in the synchronisation of heaven and earth because of the congregational "wholeheartedness".

7.2.6. The Well-being Offering and Thanksgivings (2Chr 29:31-36)

After sin and impurity were removed and the divine-human relationship was restored, the well-being offering () (29:25-30) reinforced "the value of the restored relation between God and man. They [i.e.] are the appropriate way to acknowledge positively God's goodness and any particular benefits which an individual may have received from Yahweh's hand."⁹⁴⁷ Therefore, seems appropriate as a conclusion to the order of the Chronicler's sacrifices.

Milgrom notes three motivations for in the priestly writings: freewill, vows, and thanksgiving () (cf. 2Chr 29:31). He believes that "the common denominator of these motivations is rejoicing."⁹⁴⁸ He highlights that we can only find under the form of in P, such that should be differentiated from

⁹⁴⁴ Endres, "Spiritual Vision," 19.

⁹⁴⁵ Some psalmic traditions possibly reorientated the joyful experience as the consequence of YHWH's blessing: Berquist, *Judaism*, 201.

⁹⁴⁶ Douglas, *Purity*, 63–71.

⁹⁴⁷ Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 164.

⁹⁴⁸ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 218.

freewill and vows due to there being different time spans for eating (Lev 7:15-16)⁹⁴⁹ and different associations with the burnt-offering.⁹⁵⁰

Modéus, however, believes that is not a distinct sacrifice from , because there is no independent rule for , which refers only to the *causae* (i.e. situation) of thanksgiving.⁹⁵¹ His main thesis contends that is a symbol that marks the ritualising of different situations.⁹⁵² He further investigates the frequent representation of this sacrifice in the context of cultic inauguration in the HB and contends that is frequently added to the narrative as a gloss to designate the peak event in the legitimisation of inaugurated cults.⁹⁵³ This redactional glossation is intended to change the reader's perception of the unspecified (cf. 2Chr 29:31 and the juxtaposition of and) and to clarify for the cult-legitimacy.⁹⁵⁴

Modéus' analysis gives a plausible explanation for the symbolic interrelationship among , , and in 29:31 and 29:35, at the Chronicler's redactional level. In fact, Williamson and others see in 29:31 as an abbreviation for (and), and the between and can thus be epexegetical.⁹⁵⁵ Therefore, the Chronicler probably puts as a marking symbol to enact the *causae* of for the joyful celebration of heavenly blessings in the (re)inauguration of a legitimate cult.

In the Chronicler's context, the *causae* of would have been associated with the musical performance of Levitical singers, because (a synonym of) was one of the main vocations of any Levitical scholar-singer (1Chr 16:4) (Section 6.2.1). We also have an explicit reference in 2Chr 30:22 to singers "giving thanks" ()

⁹⁴⁹ contains a one-day meal, while others two-days meal.

⁹⁵⁰ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 219.

⁹⁵¹ Martin Modéus, *Sacrifice and Symbol: Biblical *selamîm* in a Ritual Perspective*, CBOTS 52 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2005), 108–109.

⁹⁵² *Ibid.*, 57–116.

⁹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 188–205. contains a "dedicatory" nature for initiating a proper cult: Levine, *Presence*, 34, 51.

⁹⁵⁴ Modéus, *Sacrifice and Symbol*, 221–268.

⁹⁵⁵ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 359; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 469; Myers, *II Chronicles*, 169.

during . Furthermore, Jon 2:10, Pss 50:23, and 116:17 describe the hymnic thanksgiving as “a sacrifice of thanksgiving” (), an expression close to that in 29:31. Therefore, 29:31-35 probably depicts a joyful, national celebration, filled with well-being offerings, burnt-offerings, and songs of thanksgiving.

What did the congregation give thanks for? Kleinig argues from Hezekiah’s negative example in 2Chr 32:24-26 and Isa 38:9-20 that thanksgiving was an appropriate response, repaying and acknowledging God’s salvation and acceptance in order not to incur his wrath again.⁹⁵⁶ Kleinig’s proposal is justified and agrees with the sense of the conclusive statement, “Hezekiah and all the people rejoiced over *what* God had prepared for the people” (29:36). Thanksgiving thus acknowledged the realisation of the divine promise in 2Chr 7:14, in which God acted to forgive and heal.

However, the role of as a marking symbol for the situation of thanksgiving is less explained. Lev 3:1-17 prescribes the ritual procedure for , in which the fat of the victims was to be burnt on the altar as a soothing aroma to YHWH, and the meat was to be consumed, except for the blood and fat (cf. 2Chr 7:7; 29:35). Milgrom thinks that the main function of was to provide meat for the table, because non-cultic slaughtering is prohibited in P.⁹⁵⁷ Brichto further suggests,

As the property of its Creator, life was sacred. The taking of life without, so to speak, a sacral act of desacrilization was fraught with danger ... Slaughter on other than a duly designated altar, thus failing acknowledgment of God’s lordship over all life, constituted a taboo which rendered the subsequent repast “eating together with the blood,” a term which represented the taboo itself, as did the more direct expression “eating the blood.”⁹⁵⁸

Therefore, acknowledged God as the origin of all life when offerers consumed the meat. in the situation of with Levitical singing created another symbolisation, in which offerers acknowledged YHWH as the origin of all life forces

⁹⁵⁶ Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 127–129.

⁹⁵⁷ Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 221.

⁹⁵⁸ Brichto, “Slaughter,” 40–41.

and blessings according to the divine promise. This paralleled the Chronicler's temple ideology, in which the physical structure of the temple symbolised itself as the source of life (Section 4.3.3). All Israel had to remember YHWH's faithfulness in thanksgivings in order to repay what he had done for them (29:36). In this way, God's wrath was to be averted, or at least delayed (2Chr 32:25-26).

7.2.7. Summary

Hezekiah's reinauguration shows a profound concern for purity, holiness, and YHWH's presence. We see from his speech that the language of the exile provides a dominant mode of expression for characterising the Levites as they averted God's wrath through the purifying and consecrating of the temple. This provides strong evidence for the Chronicler's exilic consciousness and increases the likelihood that his intra-Jewish reflection was influenced by pre-Hellenistic culture, in which the norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially that of *kalû*-priests, played a crucial part. The theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community were fulfilled in the reinauguration of authentic, consecrated worship in the second temple, and some ideas from intra-Jewish traditions (e.g. sacrifice and purity in P and D) were reaffirmed in Chronicles.

The priestly sacrificial system is recontextualised within the Chronicler's frame of reference of the temple as realised template in order to enrich the theological significance of the sacrifices. In this new context, the Chronicler emphasises the altar as symbolising the gateway towards heaven. The synchronisation of song and burnt-offering resulted in "mutual symbolisation". In this way, all Israel was taught that they could get access to heavenly joy as an indicator of covenantal stability, and that they could restore their place within created order. With the singers' help,

Israelites celebrated by using the well-being offering as a marking symbol in thanksgiving, in order to repay and acknowledge what God had done for them.

7.3. Hezekiah's and Josiah's Passovers

The Chronicler places a more prominent emphasis on Hezekiah's Passover than on Josiah's.⁹⁵⁹ He uses the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in 2Chr 30 to reunite all Israel at the centralised and reinaugurated Jerusalem temple cult after Hezekiah's reform. Here, the centralisation of the cult is the focus. The strict observance of the Law is, however, not the central issue (e.g. 2Chr 30:18-20), because the purification and consecration of the temple in Hezekiah's period came suddenly (2Chr 29:36). However, in Josiah's Passover (2Chr 35:1-18), the Chronicler does illustrate a strict observance of the Law. Although these two accounts contain different emphases, "the prominence of the Levites and the very favourable portrayal of their role"⁹⁶⁰ were still at work in both accounts. It is crucial to investigate the liturgical role of Levites and their singers in this context.

7.3.1. Hezekiah's Letter (2Chr 30:6-9)

Hezekiah attempted to keep the Passover in the second month (30:2), a necessary postponement according to Num 9:9-12 when an individual was unclean or on a distant journey.⁹⁶¹ The Chronicler employs this law and duplicates the two reasons to justify Hezekiah's timing (30:3-5).⁹⁶² In order to assemble all Israel including the North, Hezekiah wrote a letter (30:1, 6) to command them to keep the feast:

30:6b בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל הָשִׁיבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם "Sons of Israel! Return towards YHWH God of

⁹⁵⁹ Hooker, *Chronicles*, 275; Tuell, *Chronicles*, 234.

⁹⁶⁰ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 403.

⁹⁶¹ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 940.

⁹⁶² The temple was still unclean on the fourteenth day of the first month (2Chr 29:17).

Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, so that he will return towards those who escaped and those who were left to you from the hand of the kings⁹⁶³ of Assyria.”

30:7 “Do not be like your fathers and like your brothers, who trespassed upon YHWH God of their fathers, so that he gave them a waste as that you are seeing.”

אֲשֶׁר מָעַלּוּ בַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם

30:8 “Now do not harden your necks like your fathers! Submit⁹⁶⁴ to YHWH, and come in to his sanctuary that he has consecrated forever!

וְעַבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וַיִּשָּׁב

Serve YHWH your God, so that he will turn away his fierce anger from you!”

30:9 “For when you return to YHWH, your brothers and your sons *will find* compassion before those who took them captive, in order to return to this land. For YHWH your God is gracious and compassionate, and he will not turn aside the face⁹⁶⁵ from you if you return to him.”

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְלֹא־יִסָּר

This letter shows two important features. First, the catchword “turn” () appears six times as the major theme: “as you turn, so he turns”.⁹⁶⁶ Its location at 30:6 and 30:9 formulate an *inclusio* to theme this letter as a call for repentance. McKenzie

⁹⁶³ G, S, V_g read singular, a possible “harmonization with accounts of the fall of the Northern Kingdom”: Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 239.

⁹⁶⁴ Literally, “Give a hand”. G reads “glory”, a paraphrase of : GC, 1:52.

⁹⁶⁵ Some versions read “his face”, supported by G “ ò ó ù ù”, a translator’s addition: GC, 1:48-49. The plural form contains singular meaning: BDB, 815. MT is to be preferred.

⁹⁶⁶ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 2:201.

writes, “The entire letter and the subsequent celebration pick up and elaborate on the words and ideas in Solomon’s prayer in 2Chr 7:14: return (vv. 6, 9), humble (11), pray (18), seek (19), hear, and heal (20).”⁹⁶⁷ The uses of words surrounding the covenantal promise in 2Chr 7:14 provide strong evidence that the Chronicler holds to the idea of attempting to enable worldwide stability through the people’s repentance, exemplified by a return to the temple. The Chronicler employs the Passover as a literary device to promote his conviction that the temple was the place of pilgrimage where humble YHWH-seekers could reverse their misfortune (30:7) and avert God’s wrath (30:8).

Second, the entire letter was written under the shadow of the exile, and the phrases “took them captive”, “return to this land”, “his fierce anger”, and “waste” are reminiscent of the trauma. Its exact wording matches that of the prophets (Zech 1:2-4; Mal 1:9) in the restoration period,⁹⁶⁸ so that “the Chronicler has made the exile into a recurring, ‘typical’ situation within the continuing life of the community.”⁹⁶⁹ Williamson also writes concerning the whole episode of Hezekiah:

[H]e [the Chronicler] has left sufficient indication at its close to point the way forward to the restoration in the Persian period. The typological patterns which have been noted throughout from the reign of Saul onwards are here continued, the themes of restoration and exile thus being ones in the light of which he will have expected his readers to assess their own situation.⁹⁷⁰

We thus find a strong case here for arguing that the Chronicler configures the exilic experience into his storyline in order to encourage all Israel in the citizen-temple community to return to YHWH’s faith. This intra-Jewish reflection on the exile would have reaffirmed some traditions (e.g. Zechariah and Malachi) that legitimised the temple as the place for repentance and pilgrimage in defiance of Babylonian-Persian

⁹⁶⁷ McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 345.

⁹⁶⁸ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 367–368.

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 350.

7.3.2. Hezekiah's Prayer (2Chr 30:18-20)

However, the people came in numbers too great for the Levites (probably involving singers; cf. 2Chr 29:13-14) to cleanse them (30:17-18). These verses emphasise the limitations of the Levites and the massive impurity adhering to the people. Although the Chronicler characterises the Levites as socially equivalent to the *kalû*-priests, he does not believe that human endeavour could solve all the problems arising from sin and impurity. At this crucial moment, the Chronicler employs the language of 2Chr 7:14 again to construct Hezekiah's prayer:

30:18b “May the good YHWH purify on behalf of”

⁹⁷² There is no direct object for the daubing of blood, and we can fill the gap with either choice.

30:19 “those who”⁹⁷³ fix his whole heart to seek the God
הַאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתָיו YHWH God of their fathers, though not according
וְלֹא כְּטִהַרַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ: ס to the purification of the sanctuary.”

30:20 And YHWH listened to Hezekiah, and he healed
the people.

“One heart” in 30:12 is qualified in 30:19 as a heart seeking YHWH. This seeking heart (using and) recalls the summary of the Davidic covenant in 1Chr 28:8-9 and 2Chr 7:14, in which “seeking God” forms a strong motivation to reverse the misfortune. In fact, YHWH did “listen” () to Hezekiah’s prayer and “healed” () the people according to his promise in 2Chr 7:14 (30:20). Interestingly, 30:18b illustrates Hezekiah’s request for YHWH’s “purification” ()⁹⁷⁴ of the sanctuary on behalf of the people. YHWH, who is described as “good” (), seems to become the basis for the purification. The Chronicler believes that God’s active purification in response to the seeking heart overrode the strict observance of the Law.⁹⁷⁵ This special description of YHWH as “good” may remind the reader of the Levitical chanting of “for he is good” in the liturgical refrain. Hezekiah probably prayed for God’s purification of the sanctuary on behalf of the congregation through the Levitical hymnic tradition of “YHWH as good”, reminding to seek God in order to pursue the stability bestowed from the heaven according to 2Chr 7:14.

7.3.3. The Joyful Celebration of the Feast (2Chr 30:21-27)

In this episode, “joy” () (30:21, 23, 25, 26) is the main component in the description of the Feast of the Unleavened Bread. After YHWH’s purification and

⁹⁷³ An asyndetic relative clause: JM §129q.

⁹⁷⁴ I translate “purification” to match the context, but it also includes the meaning of “ransom” because of its concern with averting God’s wrath (30:8): see footnotes 932-933.

⁹⁷⁵ Hooker, *Chronicles*, 256; Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 186; Neusner, *Purity*, 12.

healing (30:20), the Chronicler presents the collaboration of priests and Levites, and their service of praising “with the instruments of might” () (30:21).⁹⁷⁶

Kleinig thinks that these musical instruments were “of might” because they could motivate the people to rejoice by evoking YHWH’s presence.⁹⁷⁷ I rather believe that these instruments of might motivated people to rejoice, because they imitated and prophesied the heavenly joy in remembrance of the divine promise to David and Solomon, as I presently discuss in an excursus. They are described as being mighty also because of their power to foster and proclaim stability in the battle in Jehoshaphat’s time (Section 5.4). The Chronicler puts the first in the setting of daily Levitical praising (30:21) in relation to the mighty instruments, in order to designate music as the proper liturgical expression of heavenly joy.⁹⁷⁸

According to Num 28:24, the people had to present burnt-offerings daily for seven days in the feast. But the Chronicler replaces this daily offering with a daily performance of music (30:21) without mentioning any burnt-offering. One might read this as a downgrading of the significance of sacrifices, but it is to be understood better as an abbreviation of the daily synchronisation of song and sacrifice. The Chronicler may have thought that it would be sufficient to refer to the daily music as a gloss for both song and sacrifice in line with the whole picture presented in 2Chr 29:21-30. In the same way, he probably also abbreviates the well-being offerings and thanksgivings in 30:22 (cf. 2Chr 7:7; 29:31-35). There is thus no need to repeat the theological significance of liturgical music here (cf. Section 7.2.5).

The Chronicler adds a phrase “all the Levites who showed good discretion for YHWH” () in 30:22, which reflects the multi-functional capacity both of the Levitical communities and the Mesopotamian

⁹⁷⁶ G lacks in the translation. MT is to be preferred.

⁹⁷⁷ Kleinig, *The Lord’s Song*, 88.

⁹⁷⁸ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 954.

scribal-signers in the Babylonian captivity, as I have shown (p.130). Reading the *kalû*-priest practices alongside the situation set out here, it is reasonable to suggest that the Chronicler intended to characterise the Levites as experts in purity law, sacrificial law, and liturgical chanting as a response to Babylonian-Persian oppressions.

Finally, the Chronicler ends Hezekiah's Passover with a concluding image of "great joy" () (30:26) and "blessing" () (30:27). He thinks that a true repentance according to 2Chr 7:14 and a genuine observation of Mosaic and Davidic authorities gave joy and blessing. Interestingly, 30:27 illustrates that "their prayer came to his holy dwelling, to the heaven" (). The Chronicler thus understands the earthly service of Levitical singers as producing an impact in the heaven. This is further evidence pointing to the influence of the Chronicler's temple as realised template in his depictions of the singers. He also regards the heavenly dwelling place as the place from which human prayers were received, as envisaged in 2Chr 6:21 and 7:14⁹⁷⁹ (cf. Section 4.3).

We can probably conclude, therefore, that the whole reinauguration project and Hezekiah's Passover endeavoured to achieve coherence between heaven and earth. The synchronisation of song and sacrifice played its part in nurturing covenantal stability. Just as Nebuchadnezzar invested heavily in his cult in order to foster coherence between heaven and earth for the well-being of Babylon, Hezekiah also invested for such coherence in his reinaugurated temple for the stability of all Israel.

7.3.4. Josiah's Passover (2Chr 35:1-18)

The Chronicler's account of Josiah's Passover follows the pattern of Hezekiah's Passover,⁹⁸⁰ with the addition of a strict observance of the Law.⁹⁸¹ Therefore, I do not

⁹⁷⁹ Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 2:206; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 372.

⁹⁸⁰ Myers, *II Chronicles*, 211.

need to repeat here the theological significance of the singers. However, Japhet comments on the changing role of the Levites in this account:

In v.3 they are presented as both “the teachers of Israel” and “holy to the Lord”, and are asked to “serve the Lord your God” on the one hand “and his people Israel” on the other. Except for the acts which are exclusively priestly, everything connected with the Passover sacrifice is now transferred to the Levites: slaughter, flaying, conveyance of the blood, removal of the fat parts, roasting of the Passover sacrifice, and its distribution according to fathers’ houses.⁹⁸²

This picture gives an impression that the Levites were experts in many aspects of liturgical matters, just as that of *kalû*-priests. 35:3 depicts them as “teachers” ()⁹⁸³ or “those who were skilful” or “those who taught” (),⁹⁸⁴ which probably assumes the father-son apprenticeship system represented in 1Chr 25:7-8 (cf. Section 5.3.4). This verse also depicts the Levites as “those who were holy to YHWH” () (see also 2Chr 29:15, 34). The Pentateuch, however, never states that Levites were holy, but merely cleansed (Num 8; cf. the priestly holiness in Lev 8).

Why does the Chronicler upgrade the holiness of Levites? Theologically speaking, they would have had to be holy in order to offer songs in synchronisation with priestly sacrifices, lest they spoiled the divine presence and the holy communication between heaven and earth. Sociologically speaking, the designation of holiness would also have legitimised their role in fostering worldwide stability and afforded them equal status to the *kalû*-priests in the surrounding culture.

The Levites were instructed to prepare themselves “according to the writing of King David of Israel and the writing of Solomon his son” () in 35:4. This reference is probably intended to be reminiscent of the

⁹⁸¹ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 1046.

⁹⁸² Ibid., 1045.

⁹⁸³ Reading with *kethib*.

⁹⁸⁴ Reading with *qere*, a participle also occurred in Neh 8:7, 9, denoting the Levitical *Torah*-teaching. It seems that *qere* reading reflects a correct reading: Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 515. This reflects the Levitical teaching role in the Persian period: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 1047.

heavenly template in 1Chr 28:11-19, in which David is said to have received the authoritative writing which “makes clear” () all the words of the (cf. Section 4.3.2).⁹⁸⁵ As I have shown (p.186), the office of resembles the Levitical role in interpreting the *Torah*. We also have an explicit reference in 2Chr 30:22, showing that it belonged to the Levitical office. The Levites probably used David’s writing to prepare themselves for their expository explanation of the heavenly . Josiah’s Passover is shown to have happened not only according to the Mosaic Law (35:6) but also according to David’s (35:4, 15). This dual authority governed the Levitical service and singing, so that the Levites could realise the heavenly domain on earth in the Passover and achieve coherence between heaven and earth.

7.4. Conclusion

The Chronicler sees the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in the (re)inauguration of the temple cult as one of the most important theological devices to foster the synchronisation of heaven and earth. In Solomon’s inauguration, the first round of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice (2Chr 7:1-3) belonged to the heavenly inauguration of the altar. This was followed by the earthly inauguration in the second round of the synchronisation (2Chr 7:4-6). In both rounds, Levitical singers are shown proclaiming YHWH’s (2Chr 7:3, 6) in collaboration with the priestly sacrifices, in order to foster YHWH’s presence according to the divine promise established for the temple. In this way, they attempted to enable stability in the whole world.

In Hezekiah’s reinauguration, the Chronicler characterises the Levites as multi-functional elite professionals for various liturgical purposes such as purification, consecration, and chanting. They removed sin and impurity in order to restore YHWH’s presence and to channel his blessings and joy to the people. After their

⁹⁸⁵ David’s “writing” probably refers also to 1Chr 23-26: De Vries, “Moses and David,” 630–631.

purification and consecration, they synchronised YHWH's song with the priestly burnt-offerings. This created a mutual symbolisation between Levitical song and priestly sacrifice in order to avert God's wrath and to foster covenantal stability as envisaged by the Davidic covenant. Levites also helped the people repay and acknowledge God's salvation and blessing with thanksgivings during the presentation of the well-being offerings for a long-term stability and joy.

In Hezekiah and Josiah's Passovers, we find the Chronicler documenting a further deepening of the liturgical role of Levitical singers in fulfilling many aspects of the feast. They could perform purification, singing, consecration, slaughter, transferral of blood, teaching, flaying, and roasting. It seems that they are portrayed as multi-functional elite scholar-singers on a par with their Mesopotamian counterparts. They helped every YHWH-seeker to repent and return to the Jerusalem temple according to the divine promise made in 1Chr 28:8-9 and 2Chr 7:14. They showed the importance of "seeking God" in reversing the misfortune of Israelites, and they attempted to channel God's joyfulness and blessing to the people. They imitated the heavenly joyfulness, and acted out the heavenly according to the writings of David and Solomon. They could achieve such a goal because they were holy persons.

In the Chronicler's description, we find many traces of the language of the exile. This exilic mode of expression becomes a typological pattern to depict the openings of Hezekiah's reinauguration of the cult and his Passover. Hezekiah and Josiah behaved like Mesopotamian kings, such as Ashurbanipal, who significantly invested in temple cults in order to nurture coherence between heaven and earth for the purpose of worldwide stability. This not only echoes the social and theological influence triggered by the Mesopotamian professional norms and practices but also matches the mission of restoration heroes (e.g. Ezra and Nehemiah) in reversing the misfortune and the trauma encountered in the Jewish diaspora.

Jews always encountered severe challenges and attacks to their faith. They experienced many insults and abominations with all sorts of impurity and sin, just as in the time of Ahaz. But the Chronicler never abandoned his faith in the divine promise set forth in the Davidic covenant. He trusted that God would reverse the misfortune according to his promise, if Jews sought God and repented from their sins. He characterised the Levitical singers as having multi-functional liturgical roles in order to summon the people to promote covenantal stability and reclaim heavenly joyfulness. Hezekiah could reinaugurate an authentic temple cult. The citizen-temple community could also reinaugurate the second temple cult in the same way, regardless of the seriousness of their impurity. This could be done as long as they had a seeking heart during the synchronisation of song and sacrifice, as Ps 27:6-8 (NRSV) declares,

Now my head is lifted up above my enemies all around me,

and I will offer in his tent sacrifices with shouts of joy;

I will sing and make melody to the LORD.

Hear, O LORD, when I cry aloud,

be gracious to me and answer me!

“Come”, my heart says, “seek his face!”

Your face, LORD, do I seek.

Excursus: The Theological Significance of Musical Instruments

In this research, we encounter repeated references to musical instruments associated with the threefold aspect of Levitical singers. This study would thus be incomplete if we neglect them. In this excursus, I attempt to show briefly the theological significance of harps, lyres, cymbals, and trumpets within the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template in order to supplement the gap in scholarship that has mainly focused on the exploration of these instruments in historical and comparative settings.⁹⁸⁶

Lyres and Harps

In respect to lyres and harps, Braun writes, “of the twenty-eight occurrences of the *n el* [harp] in the Old Testament, twenty-two are associated with the *kinnôr* [lyre].”⁹⁸⁷ The lyres and harps were thus closely related. In Chronicles, they are always said to be played together. The lyre () was a stringed instrument with varying number of strings.⁹⁸⁸ It is said to be one of the first musical instruments invented by Jubal (Gen 4:21) and was associated with David, whose lyre could heal Saul (1Sam 16:16, 23). Its sound was “sweet” (Ps 81:3) and “resounding” (Ps 92:4). It was made of “algum wood” imported from Hiram (2Chr 9:11).

⁹⁸⁶ E.g., Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969); Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources*, BIW (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); Claire C.J. Polin, *Music of the Ancient Near East* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1974); Francis W. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians and Their Immediate Successors, the Babylonians & Assyrians* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1970); Theodore W. Burgh, *Listening to the Artifacts : Music Culture in Ancient Palestine* (London: T&T Clark, 2006).

⁹⁸⁷ Braun, *Music*, 22.

⁹⁸⁸ It might have ten strings according to Josephus (*Ant.* VII.306), or eight strings (1Chr 15:21; Pss 6:1; 12:1) based on the controversial term : cf. Sendrey, *Music*, 124.

Most importantly, the lyre was the instrument of “joy” () (Job 21:12; Isa 24:8; Ezek 26:13).⁹⁸⁹ According to 1Chr 16:27 and Neh 8:10, “joy” () is described as “the joy of YHWH” and “the joy in his place”. Psalmists also proclaim, “God of my exceeding joy” (Ps 43:4) and “Jerusalem above the head of my joy” (Ps 137:6). Thus Israelites could find this “joy” in YHWH and in his dwelling place. Neh 8:10 further defines “joy” as “your place of refuge” (), symbolising YHWH’s protection and stability. How could people find this kind of joy? Exercising and understanding the Mosaic *Torah* and following David’s cultic organisation may have helped the Israelites to obtain this joy.⁹⁹⁰

After the teaching of Levites (Neh 8:7-8), all people rejoiced “because they had understood the words that were declared to them” (Neh 8:12 NRSV). Levitical singers produced sounds of joy (1Chr 15:16, 25) after the Levites had carried the ark “as Moses had commanded according to YHWH’s word” (1Chr 15:15) and as David had commanded (1Chr 15:16). Jehoiada re-established the cultic order of the temple according to “the *Torah* of Moses” and “the direction of David”, and Levites sang with joy (2Chr 23:18). Hezekiah commanded the Levites to make music “with the words of David” and they sang with joy (2Chr 29:30). The Israelites celebrated the Passover “according to the *Torah* of Moses” (2Chr 30:16), and then they had great joy (2Chr 30:21, 23, 26).

During the moment of joy, Levitical singers praised and made music with lyres, in order to proclaim the state of joyfulness (i.e. stability) (1Chr 15:16; 2Chr 20:27-28; 2Chr 29:25-30; 2Chr 30:21-27). But psalmists hung up their harps when there was no joy (Ps 137:2). One might question whether lyres produced or proclaimed joy. 1Chr

⁹⁸⁹ Sol Baruch Finesinger, “Musical Instruments in OT,” *HUCA* 3 (1926): 26.

⁹⁹⁰ Berquist states, “Joy is a gift from God, contingent upon obedience to the priestly regulations”: Berquist, *Judaism*, 201.

13:8-10 may suggest that using lyres alone without following the Mosaic *Torah* could incur God's wrath. Playing lyres was thus more a proclamation than a cause of joy.

Job 38:7 states, "[w]hen the stars of morning shouted (or sang) for joy together () and all the sons of God cried ()." The stems and are also used to describe the emotional expressions of the Israelites in responding to the descent of the heavenly fire (in Lev 9:24) and the liturgy conducted after the foundation the second temple was laid (in Ezra 3:11 and in 3:13). The heavenly praise depicted in Job 38:6-7 happened when YHWH laid the foundation of the whole creation. If we accept the concept of the temple as realised template, then the praise in Ezra 3:11-13 should be perceived as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly praise in Job 38:6-7; the Levitical chanting of the liturgical refrain in Ezra 3:11 imitated the heavenly voices in Job 38:7 (cf. Section 3.2.2).

Chronicles further develops this joyful singing across the realms of heaven and earth in 2Chr 7:1-10, in which the Chronicler replaces the joyful shouting () in Lev 9:24 with the Levitical chanting of the refrain (2Chr 7:3) when the heavenly fire came down (2Chr 7:1).⁹⁹¹ Since the Chronicler has made a typological transfer from the Mosaic tabernacle (Lev 9:23) to the Davidic temple, the joyful shouting () would have been absorbed typologically into the Levitical chanting. Since is a special term to describe the celestial joyful praising in Job 38:7 (cf. 1Chr 16:33), the concept of celestial joyful worship would probably be transferred typologically to the terrestrial Levitical chanting. Thus the earthly Levitical chanting likely imitated the heavenly praise. In this way, Levitical singers accompanied their chanting with lyres to proclaim the state of worldwide stability in the form of joy. We may thus speak of this as "prophesying" the presence of joy originating from YHWH. This can be verified in the inset psalm (cf. Sections 6.2.3.2 and 6.2.3.3), in which Asaphites

⁹⁹¹ Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 119.

proclaimed (or prophesied) celestial chanting and YHWH's kingship over the heavenly court.

We have limited knowledge about harps (), which probably had a vertical and angular shape, as seen in the art work in Assyrian palaces.⁹⁹² It was used in upper class society, and was also an instrument of joy (Amos 6:5; Isa 14:11). 1Chr 15:20 states that Levites played harps according to , a term that may mean “the tone of a lady”. There was certainly a close relationship between lyres and harps because they are always described as being played together in Chronicles. It seems that the theological significance of harps should be understood together with lyres. They both proclaimed (or prophesied) the presence of joy and worldwide stability when people implemented the *Torah* of Moses and followed the direction of David.

Cymbals

The Hebrew word “cymbals” () takes a dual form, probably suggesting that they were used in pairs.⁹⁹³ 1Chr 15:19 states that they were made of bronze. Egyptian and Assyrian iconographies confirm that they were circular in shape and produced signalling and ringing sounds when clapped together.⁹⁹⁴ Kleinig believes that cymbals introduced and led the start of chanting and that they were used together with priestly trumpets to proclaim YHWH's presence.⁹⁹⁵ Only chief-singers (Asaph, Heman, and Ethan in 1Chr 15:19; 16:5) could play cymbals, probably leading the harmonisation of all accompanying instruments. The Chronicler does not show Levitical singers as playing these instruments during times of curse and divine wrath but restricts their usage to periods of joy and stability (e.g. 2Chr 20:27-28).

⁹⁹² Ibid., 85.

⁹⁹³ Smith, *Music*, 55.

⁹⁹⁴ Sendrey, *Music*, 376.

⁹⁹⁵ Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 82–83.

I suggest that this is because only in stability and joy were people allowed to hear the celestial praise, because lyres, harps, and cymbals were played together to imitate the sound of angels. These musical instruments are depicted as “the instruments of David” () (2Chr 29:26-27) and “the instruments of the songs of God” () (1Chr 16:42). As shown before (in Section 4.3.2), David received the heavenly template (1Chr 28:11-19), which included “all the instruments of service” () (1Chr 28:13). should be seen as a part of the , which were also a part of the heavenly template. We can thus speak of the heavenly template being realised when Levitical singers played David’s instruments in imitation of the sound of celestial praise (*imitatio angeli*). Moreover, the Mesopotamian considered musical instruments to imitate the sound of gods (*imitatio dei*), and the instruments of *kalû*-priest were of divine origin, capable of appeasing the heart of gods. The Chronicler’s reflection of the exile may have been influenced by the Mesopotamian perception of musical instruments so that some celestial-terrestrial traditions (e.g. Isa 6; cf. Section 4.2.2.2) were reaffirmed to address socio-political challenges in the citizen-temple community.

In summary, when Levitical singers played musical instruments, their audience could probably hear the celestial angelic praise because these instruments were employed only during worldwide stability and joy, in which a channel of communication between heaven and earth was established. Then, these musical instruments are said to prophesy the heavenly praise. However, this conclusion can only be argued from inner-biblical exegetical and historical-comparative perspectives. This would at least allow us to make a *prima facie* instance that is not completely ruled out.

Trumpets

Israel's trumpet (or) looked like a long straight silver (or bronze) cone and resembled its Egyptian counterpart.⁹⁹⁶ It could only produce various signals for secular and religious purposes such as fighting, gathering, memorial services (Num 10:3-10), and the prostration of the people.⁹⁹⁷ It was also used in a variety of liturgical services in 1Chr 15:24; 16:6, 42; 2Chr 5:12; 7:6; Ezra 3:10; Neh 12:35, 41,⁹⁹⁸ and its use thus dominates Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. What can be understood of its significance in Chronicles?

I believe that the mention of trumpet blowing is probably an important clue to the Chronicler's temple as realised template, as it represented an earthly counterpart of the angelic trumpet blowing. Trumpets were regarded as "holy vessels" (Num 31:6),⁹⁹⁹ and it was the exclusive prerogative of the Aaronites to blow trumpets (Num 10:8). The Chronicler never diverts from this tradition and assigns trumpet blowing to the priests (1Chr 15:24; 16:6; 2Chr 5:12-13; 13:12-14; 29:26-28; cf. Ezra 3:10; Neh 12:35, 41). In 2Chr 5:11b, the Chronicler supplements a comment depicting the priestly holiness. This probably clarifies that the priests had to be consecrated before they could operate these "holy vessels". They blew trumpets in order to bring the people to the remembrance of YHWH. The twofold occurrence of "before YHWH" or "before your God" in Num 10:9-10 may suggest that trumpet blowing functioned as a proclamation of YHWH's presence and his power to save his people. This ritual function is clearly in view in 1Chr 15:24, 28; 16:4, 6;¹⁰⁰⁰ 2Chr 5:12-14; 7:6.¹⁰⁰¹

Furthermore, priestly trumpet blowing was not confined to the earthly realm but was extended to the angelic dimension in Exod 19:19-20 and Deut 33:2, where the

⁹⁹⁶ Sendrey, *Music*, 332–333.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., 335–336; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 79–80.

⁹⁹⁸ Sendrey, *Music*, 335–336.

⁹⁹⁹ Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 78.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The priestly trumpet-blowing was performed "before the ark", which resembles "before YHWH" in Num 10:9-10.

¹⁰⁰¹ Cf. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 81–82.

“holy ones” blew the sound of horns when YHWH came down upon Mount Sinai to meet with his people. Zech 9:14 states that YHWH himself blew the trumpet. We thus see some explicit references to angelic trumpet blowing. Many have agreed that the inauguration of Solomon’s temple in 2Chr 5-7 is patterned after the inauguration of the tabernacle in Exod 40:34-35 and the inauguration of the altar in Lev 9:23-24.¹⁰⁰² Since the divine presence in Mount Sinai (announced by the angels) was probably replicated when the divine presence in the tabernacle was announced by the priestly trumpeters,¹⁰⁰³ the Chronicler would have typologically transferred this celestial-terrestrial announcement of the divine presence into his inauguration of the temple. In this way, the synchronisation of Levitical musical instruments with priestly trumpets in “one voice” () (2Chr 5:13) probably conveyed the expectation that a synchronisation of heaven and earth announced YHWH’s presence.

¹⁰⁰² Japhet, *Chronicles*, 609; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 222; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 347.

¹⁰⁰³ John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1987), 500; Douglas, *Leviticus*, 86.

Conclusion of Part II

In Part II, I have examined the Chronicler's characterisation of the service of the Levitical singers in light of the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture and temple ideologies. I take the symbolic meaning of their service seriously and conduct an inner-biblical exegesis in order to discover how the circumstantial scribal-musical elements affected the Chronicler's interpretation of earlier Israelite traditions.

From this we have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Chronicler probably features the Jerusalem temple as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly temple, which governed the stability of the whole world. This concept of the temple as realised template forms a theological frame of reference for understanding the service of the Levitical singers in Chronicles. This probably shows that the Chronicler's attempt to increase the authenticity of the temple cult may be considered to be comparable to the surrounding Babylonian-Persian temples.
2. The Chronicler probably assigns the qualities of music and prophecy in characterising the Levitical singers in their educational context due to his desire to set them on a par with the professional norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. They prophesied according to the direction of David and encouraged Israelites to trust in the conditions of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 25:1-8) in order to foster and nurture worldwide stability and to attempt to stabilise threats (2Chr 20).
3. The Chronicler likely shares the scribal conventions of the Levitical shaping of the Psalter and employs these conventions to craft the inset psalms (1Chr 16:8-36; 2Chr 6:41-42) in order to characterise the Levitical singers as capable scribes,

who were socially comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. In so doing, the Levitical scholar-singers could proclaim YHWH's faithfulness, so to uphold the Davidic covenant, so that Israelites could seek God and trust in the divine promise for enabling covenantal stability.

4. The Chronicler narrates the synchronisation of song and sacrifice during the (re)inaugurations of the Jerusalem temple. This collaborative service of priests and Levites brought an effect of mutual symbolisation, in which the covenantal meaning of the Davidic promise and the priestly traditions of burnt-offering blended together to intensify the effect for promoting worldwide stability.

From these findings we are therefore able to conclude that the temple service of the Levitical singers sought to foster and promote worldwide stability in covenantal terms in their threefold role – educational, scribal, and liturgical. This characterisation probably betrays the Chronicler's ideological attempt to promote the profile of the Levitical scholar-singers to be socially equivalent to the professional norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially *kalû*-priests, in order to promote the authenticity of the second temple cult.

8. Conclusion

This study can be summarised in two points. First, the intensive cultural interaction that deportees from the Jewish elite had with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priest in the Neo-Babylonian royal court influenced the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the concept of the temple as realised template and music. The Chronicler continued this reflection during the restoration period, so that some inner-biblical ideas surrounding the concept and music, together with the common understanding of the institutional and ideological depictions of scholar-singers, were reaffirmed and reinforced in his configuration of Chronicles. This can be explained as fulfilling the social, theological, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community in their identity making process and promoting the primacy of the Jerusalem temple. The prominence of music in Mesopotamian professional culture would have helped to legitimise the authenticity of the temple and socially elevate Levitical singers to the same level as Mesopotamian elite professionals. This, in turn, helped members of the community to appreciate and identify themselves with the theological significance of the temple and Levitical singers in terms of their cultural affinity with the wider pre-Hellenistic scribal-musical culture and in response to their Babylonian-Persian enemies. Nevertheless, we should not identify the similarities in written descriptions of the two cultures as the consequence of direct literary borrowing but as arising from the use of commonly shared ideas in the socio-ideological setting (Part I).

Second, the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in Chronicles verifies the foundation established from the historical-comparative perspective in Part I. He characterises Levitical singers as the main agents in fostering and enabling

worldwide stability, as envisaged in the conditional terms of the Davidic covenant, within the three aspects (educational, scribal, liturgical) of their service. I take seriously the symbolic and theological implication of their ritual acts and understand these acts in terms of the socio-ideological milieu of the citizen-temple community and alongside Mesopotamian professional norms and practices. This leads me to the conclusion that the Levites promoted and nurtured worldwide stability within the theological infrastructure of the temple as realised template, in which the Davidic promise (2Chr 7:14) became the theological foundation for the temple's importance in reversing misfortune and fostering repentance. This brought theological hope to the citizen-temple community by fostering covenantal stability, even though they encountered instability (Part II). These conclusions have far-reaching implications. I summarise the conclusions of this study and explain briefly their implications, below.

8.1. Concluding Remarks

8.1.1. The Citizen-Temple Community and the Musical Culture of Mesopotamia

Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon was a pious follower of traditional Mesopotamian norms and practices. His elite professionals and royal officials were well-educated and capable in numerous professions, assisting him to restore the place of Babylon as the centre of the whole world and to fashion it as a cultural centre so that there was a revival of traditional Mesopotamian scribal-musical norms and practices in the social setting of the royal court. The Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical culture had practised a continuous hermeneutics of the ancient traditions since the Old Babylonian period.¹⁰⁰⁴ This striking continuity (though not without changes) testifies to the fact that music, singers, interpreting songs, musical theory, and musical instruments were consistently

¹⁰⁰⁴ Veldhuis, "Mesopotamian Canon," 9–28; Frahm, *Babylonian*.

the main components of the educational, scribal, and liturgical aspects of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially *kalû*-priest and the profession of *kalûtu* – perpetuating traditions, performing musical cult, transmitting laments, and fostering stability and well-being. However, we should not explain this continuity by imposing any overarching model.

The art of singing was seen as an upper level of the scribal curriculum, especially in the specialised training of *kalûtu*, and was symbolically powerful in conveying the temple as realised template in various cultic settings, in order to fulfil the social, political, and theological agendas of a particular cult. Since music was at the core of the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical curriculum and *kalûtu*, scholars trained in this educational system can be classified as “scholar-singers”, who acquired the capacity for multiple functions such as purification, chanting, prophecy, reading, writing, and liturgical performance to help their kings to foster worldwide stability.

This professional culture constituted a primary element within pre-Hellenistic culture.¹⁰⁰⁵ The development of a “world empire” fostered massive migrations and allowed different peoples to mix. As I have argued in Chapter Three, the deportation of Jehoiachin and his royal officials is a single example within this massive migration policy. The Babylonians tended to weaken the upper class of deportees by assimilating them into the royal court of the Babylonian ruling class, in order to show a pretentious display to conquered people. This practice probably created a social and cultural context, the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context, in which Jewish elite deportees regularly socialised with Mesopotamian scholars, *kalû*-priests, so that it would have influenced the ongoing intra-Jewish reinterpretation of traditions.

Of course, we should not regard such evidence as the result of direct literary dependence or borrowing, as if Jewish scholars replicated the Mesopotamian lore by

¹⁰⁰⁵ Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 17–33.

visual copying, nor can we determine the direction of influence, because the concept of the temple as realised template had already been widely and fluidly shared in the pre-exilic period.¹⁰⁰⁶ Rather, I suggest that the social and theological influence (the institutional and ideological ideas) from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context provided insights for the Chronicler's intra-Jewish reinterpretation of traditions so that some exilic (or pre-exilic) ideas that were already latent in the Israelite traditions were reaffirmed. The chief motivation for the Chronicler's reaffirmation of these ideas was the need to speak of the authenticity of the Jerusalem temple and its singers, such that people in the pre-Hellenistic culture would be able to perceive them as socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian temples and elite professionals.

This motivation is evident from the citizen-temple community's claim to authenticity when it came to perpetuating pre-exilic traditions and worship. In this context, they preferred to use music to fashion worship that was authentic in Babylonian-Persian terms on the one hand and that established a theme of continuity (a hallmark of authenticity) for David's authority on the other. This double strategy of authenticity reflects the identity making process of the community.

It must be noted that the socio-ideological milieu of the citizen-temple community gives only *prima facie* justification for the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template and his view of Levitical singers. As I have argued in Chapter Four, what is certain is the Chronicler's configuration of the concept of the temple as realised template that stemmed from the background of the citizen-temple community. Literary evidence in Chronicles (Section 4.2.1) shows that the Chronicler probably narrates the concept within the temple context. We see in 2Chr 36:22-23 that the generic title "God of heaven" reflects the Persian identification of YHWH,

¹⁰⁰⁶ Madsen, ed., *Antiquity*.

constructing a concluding remark that directs readers' expectation towards the end with the heaven-and-earth dimension of the Jerusalem temple.

Furthermore, thematic evidence (Section 4.3) shows that the Chronicler probably refashions the temple as the place that averted wrath, the place arising from a heavenly template, and the place reaching the heaven. These three thematic features mark its essential differences from the temple in Samuel-Kings. If we read the temple in Chronicles in light of the political, social, and theological concerns of the citizen-temple community, it seems possible that the Chronicler attempted to exaggerate the theological significance of the temple in order to bring hope to the community, even though the second temple was probably a tiny physical entity. The Chronicler's literary temple also establishes a theological frame of reference in which to comprehend the service of Levitical singers.

8.1.2. Singing for Covenantal Stability

Kleinig thinks that the Levitical singers acted as mediators in proclaiming the divine acceptance of sacrifice and YHWH's presence and repaying YHWH with thanksgiving for what he had done for the Israelites.¹⁰⁰⁷ My conclusions do not contradict Kleinig's work but further supplement and deepen the prominence of the role of the Davidic covenant in relation to the service of Levitical singers. These singers possessed "worldwide" significance because their prophecy, chanting, playing of instrument, purifying, and consecrating were seen to have a profound worldwide effect in terms of the stability envisaged by the Davidic conditions (1Chr 28:9-10; 2Chr 7:14). Levitical singers existed and served for this *covenantal stability*.

As I have argued in Chapter Five, they prophesied according to the paradigm established by David, the model prophet, to summon people to seek God (1Chr

¹⁰⁰⁷ Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*.

25:1-6). They were educated in father-son apprenticeships (1Chr 25:7-8) that were comparable to the apprenticeship of *kalûtu*. The roots 𐤊𐤍 and 𐤊𐤍 mark the two basic qualities of singers who experienced this education, and the semantic range of these two stems in the HB and in Chronicles probably reflects that they learned not only the skill of singing but also of prophesying, ark carrying, oracle delivery, *Torah* teaching, and reinterpreting traditions. This multi-functional capacity can be further verified by evidence from Jahaziel's oracle (2Chr 20:15-18). Jahaziel was a legitimate descendant of Asaph and exercised an inspired interpretation of traditions (such as Exodus and Isaiah) in order to summon Israelites to seek God after David's prophetic paradigm. As such, the conditions necessary for a worldwide stability were established.

The prophecy of Levitical singers was also exemplified in the Chronicler's description of the transfer of the ark, in which Asaph and other singers are characterised as the tradents of hymnic traditions (1Chr 16:8-36). As I have argued in Chapter Six, there are many important characterisations of Levitical singers. First, the Chronicler uses the untitled psalms (Pss 105; 96; 106) to construct a new inset psalm that is assigned an Asaphite authorship. This newly asserted authorship would have claimed divine inspiration, because Asaphites prophesied according to the direction of David, the model prophet, and imitated David's paradigm when summoning Israelites to seek God. Second, 1Chr 16:4 describes the prime tasks of Levitical singers as "invoking" (𐤊𐤍), "praising" (𐤊𐤍), and "giving thanks" (𐤊𐤍), which reflect the scribal conventions of the compiler(s) of the MT-Psalter. The Chronicler crafts the inset psalm using these scribal conventions and, in effect, characterises Asaph and his associated singers as scholar-singers on a par with the *kalû*-priests. Third, the content of the inset psalm (together with the liturgical refrain and 2Chr 6:41-42) propounds the central theme that YHWH's 𐤊𐤍 upholds the conditionality of the Davidic

covenant. This, in effect, characterises the Asaphites as the main agents in promoting covenantal stability through the proclamation and remembrance of YHWH's .

Building on Chapters Five and Six, Chapter Seven explores the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in relation to the nurturing of worldwide stability. The Chronicler does not appear to feel it is sufficient to have priestly sacrificial service alone in the (re)inauguration service of the temple (2Chr 5-7; 29) but is obliged to contextualise the sacrificial service (an enactment of the Mosaic covenant) with the Levitical singing (an enactment of the Davidic covenant).

Theologically speaking, this produces an effect of mutual symbolisation. The symbolic meaning of sacrifice was enriched by the Levitical song, in which the proclamation of YHWH's encouraged the people to trust in the Davidic covenant. The symbolic meaning of song was also enriched by the burnt-offering, in which averting wrath and the dimension of “going up” were at work. This mutual symbolisation attempted to enable coherence between heaven and earth, fostering YHWH's presence and stability.

Sociologically speaking, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice increased the perceived authenticity of the temple, such that it was comparable to other temples in ancient Mesopotamia. The Chronicler probably redescribes the inauguration service in a way that would have brought hope to the members of the citizen-temple community, not only in terms of the well-known ideas latent in the pre-Chronistic Israelite traditions but also in terms of the common understanding of temple ideologies in the wider pre-Hellenistic culture. This dual “authenticating” strategy could have produced rhetoric discourses that consolidated the self-identity of the community as the authentic community, because it upheld the joint liturgical efforts of priests and Levites in fostering worldwide stability.

Although I present the theological significance of Levitical singers in three aspects (educational, scribal, and liturgical), I do not intend to over-categorise them into three isolated spheres. My threefold presentation shows that the intrinsic logic of the Davidic covenant penetrates all aspects. For instance, we cannot understand the meaning of Levitical prophecy without the paradigm established by David, the model prophet. We cannot understand the Levitical proclamation of YHWH's without situating the discussion within the theological context of the temple. We cannot understand the mutual symbolisation in the synchronisation of song and sacrifice without exploring first the symbolic meaning of the Levitical chanting of YHWH's . We cannot understand the asserted authorship of the inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36) without first explaining the prophetic role of the singers. With such an understanding of the theological foundation of the Davidic covenant in view, I submit that the Levitical chanting was incorporated into the infrastructure of the temple to foster, proclaim, prophesy, and promote worldwide stability in covenantal terms.

One well-known theology of the Chronicler is his conviction regarding repentance and retribution, in which the programmatic statement of the Davidic covenant (2Chr 7:14) acts as the guiding principle for reversing misfortune and bringing stability. This programmatic statement (and the Davidic covenant in general) was the theological foundation for the service of Levitical singers. Some might question whether my interpretation bolsters a purely mechanical manipulation of the Davidic conditions. Yet the four responses (humble, pray, seek, turn) denote interior attitudes with necessary exterior actions. They do not denote merely exterior actions that could be mechanically manipulated without interior piety. Furthermore, Japhet has decisively rejected the mechanical understanding of retribution by exploring the Chronicler's prophecy as call for repentance and as warning to avert impending

wrath.¹⁰⁰⁸ This means that punishment did not come automatically when the Davidic conditions were violated, but kings and the people had to be fully warned for repentance before the actual disaster came. From this, we can confirm that “[r]epentance obviates a mechanical concept of retribution, whereby reward and punishment automatically follow human actions.”¹⁰⁰⁹

As for Levitical singers, they concurrently exercised this non-mechanical application of the divine promise by emphasising YHWH’s as the theological foundation of the promise (2Chr 7:14). The inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36) gives rich imagery in historical, international, and universal dimensions that encouraged Israelites to trust in YHWH’s (Section 6.2.3). This would have generated an imaginative and symbolic power with the fullness of a theology that rejected a merely reductive approach based on mechanical manipulation. We also see Jahaziel’s prophecy, delivering YHWH’s message and summoning Jehoshaphat and his people to trust in YHWH. This prophecy was response seeking in nature (cf. Jehoshaphat’s response in 2Chr 20:20) and focused more on “trust” than mechanical actions (Section 5.4.2).

The joyful worship in Hezekiah’s reinauguration service and Passover shows a complex realisation of 2Chr 7:14 with an uneasy integration of the priestly rules. This gives a highly contextual application of 2Chr 7:14 that involved purity laws, dietary rules, consecration procedures, and the synchronisation of song and sacrifice (Section 7.2). This complex, contextual application also rejects the mechanical manipulation of 2Chr 7:14. As such, Levitical singers provided a specific contribution in fostering covenantal stability through their multi-functional capacity in various contexts, in order to remember YHWH’s , bring hope to the community, and avert wrath. This

¹⁰⁰⁸ Japhet, *Ideology*, 138–149.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

probably betrays the Chronicler's attempt to characterise the Levitical singers on a par with the social profile of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially that of *kalû*-priests, in order to increase the authenticity of the temple cult.

8.2. Implications for Further Studies

8.2.1. Implications for the Study of Priests and Levites

Although I do not trace the diachronic development of the second temple singers in this study, introducing the circumstantial concerns of the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture has far-reaching implications for the study of priests and Levites. Scholars have made great efforts and provided tremendous insights into the development of Israelite priesthood.¹⁰¹⁰ Some have tended to explain its development as the consequence of conflict and compromise.¹⁰¹¹ If we wish to read into the tension between priests and Levites by resorting to terms of conflict, we might do so, but this should not lead us to ignore that they belonged to the same citizen-temple community and addressed the same theological, social, and political agendas. The ideological prominence of music and singers may foster the actual co-operation of priests and Levites. If Schaper is right that the Jerusalem priesthood needed the amalgamation of singers and Levites to support them,¹⁰¹² then this much needed co-operation was probably motivated by the prominence of music in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. From this, we can enrich our understanding of the development of priests and Levites not only by exploring the problem through the biblical text alone but also by understanding it fully within the wider circumstantial

¹⁰¹⁰ See footnote 51.

¹⁰¹¹ E.g., Hanson, *Dawn*; Miller, *Origins*.

¹⁰¹² Schaper, *Priester*, 279–302.

setting that nourished the prominence of music. I suspect that the situation has more complexity than can be simply explained in terms of “conflict”.

I would like to demonstrate, with a single example, how my approach could enrich Schaper’s reading. In his interpretation of 1Chr 23-27, Schaper makes a distinction between a generic use of “Levites”, denoting the tribal tie of the descendants of Levi, and a more “technical” sense (*technischen Sinne*), denoting the professional functions of temple clergies.¹⁰¹³ This distinction would be more convincing if we read it alongside the wider scribal-musical context of Mesopotamian professional culture.

In 1Chr 23-27, we encounter a detailed distinction of priests, Levites, singers, gatekeepers, and officials. The Mesopotamian scholar-singer context may foster the amalgamation of Levites and singers through the theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community to promote the primacy of the temple. This socio-ideological concern gives nuanced insights into the emergence of “technical” Levites, which can be read as a strategy of the community to fashion its elite professionals comparable on a social par with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers. The father-son apprenticeship system in 1Chr 25:7-8 supports this “technical” distinction, because the art of singing could not be inherited automatically through biological ties but had to be acquired technically through training. Of course, more historical-traditional studies need to be done to verify this direction. I hope that introducing the circumstantial scribal-musical concern from Mesopotamia enriches our understanding of these “technical” offices.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., 294–295.

8.2.2. Implications for the Chronicler's Gatekeepers

This study focuses on the articulation of the temple as realised template as the theological frame of reference in which to understand the theological significance of the service of Levitical singers. This theological frame of reference can be used to read a variety of the services of temple personnel, such as that of “gatekeepers”. I choose gatekeepers, because Obed-Edom, a foreigner, was allowed to be a Levite, a gatekeeper, and a singer.¹⁰¹⁴ This multi-functional profile may not reflect different stages of development but the multi-professional capacity of “Levites” in Chronicles.

An important symbolism in the temple was that of the cherubim covering the ark of YHWH (2Chr 5:8), symbolising the guarding angels of the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:24). It may be fruitful to explore how the gatekeepers imitated this angelic capacity in guarding against impurity. Furthermore, Milgrom's exploration of the Levitical guard duty and physical labour of the tabernacle should have a place in an exploration of how the Chronicler reaffirms this tabernacle tradition in his characterisation of gatekeepers.¹⁰¹⁵ I intend my interpretation of the temple as realised template in Chronicles to contribute to our understanding of temple guards, as this has not been thoroughly explored in any monograph.

8.2.3. Implications for the Study of the Jewish Temple and Music

The studies of the Jewish temple and its music have attracted scholarly imports.¹⁰¹⁶ No one would disregard the importance of the temple and its associated symbolism, especially the theological claim of the temple as realised template. As I have

¹⁰¹⁴ Nancy Tan, “The Chronicler's ‘Obed-Edom’: A Foreigner and a Levite?,” *JSOT* 37 (2007): 217–230.

¹⁰¹⁵ Milgrom, *Levitical Terminology*, 5–59.

¹⁰¹⁶ E.g., Hayward, *Jewish Temple*; Klawans, *Purity*, 103–245; Eilior, *Three Temples*; Francis Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism*, BS 78 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Smith, *Music*.

mentioned at the outset (Section 1.1), the temple as realised template in Chronicles should not be considered as systematically developed but as a general premise stemming from the biblical traditions and the wider Mesopotamian temple ideologies. However, Jewish people further developed the temple as realised template insofar as the correspondence between heaven and earth was systematically articulated in details and was given full attention from about the third century BCE onward. As such, the primacy of the temple and music in Chronicles may reflect an earlier stage of the articulation of the temple as realised template. It may be worthwhile to explore the reception history of the concepts of the temple and music in Chronicles, and their possible influence in the second temple literature.

8.3. Summary

This study justifies its title “Sing for Covenantal Stability”. How could the Levitical singing foster worldwide stability in covenantal terms? This study suggests that the threefold role of Levitical singers (educational, scribal, and liturgical) embodied the theological logic of the conditions of the Davidic covenant to encourage the people to trust in YHWH’s in upholding the divine promise (2Chr 7:14) within the theological infrastructure of the temple as realised template. They could foster worldwide stability not because of their human endeavour but because of YHWH’s faithfulness.

Stability and security are the essential concerns of Chronicles. They were also the fundamental concerns of the citizen-temple community. This community had to face challenges from many Babylonian-Persian enemies that could have shaken the authentic identity of their rebuilt temple. Archaeological and sociological evidence shows that they were “scant in number” with a tiny and “insignificant” temple in Jerusalem. Yehud was probably a small and poor province. The Chronicler put much

emphasis on the hope of stability, not because he lived in, as von Rad says, “a quiet period politically”,¹⁰¹⁷ but precisely because the community lacked political stability and longed for it.

With such a big crisis of identity and authenticity in view, the Chronicler painstakingly surveyed the pre-Chronistic Israelite traditions and refashioned the first temple as the gateway reaching the heaven, the centre of the world, and the source of life. He characterised Levitical singers as the main agents in nurturing worldwide stability, on a par with scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests in Mesopotamia. He did not lose heart, although surrounded by many big, rich, and successful Mesopotamian temples, and exaggerated the theological significance of the Jerusalem temple to justify its authenticity as being comparable to that of surrounding temples. As David and Solomon could achieve a glorious stability in their golden ages, in which YHWH was faithful to them, Yehud could also promote the same stability, because YHWH's faithfulness was unchanged. Although they were “scant in number”, they could still claim the covenantal stability envisaged by the Davidic covenant, the chief identity marker of the very existence of Israel in the whole creation.

¹⁰¹⁷ Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. D.M.G. Stalker, vol. 1 (London: SCM, 1975), 348.

Appendix A: The Composition of 1Chr 23-27 and 2Chr 36:22-23

A1: The Composition of 1Chr 23-27 (esp. 1Chr 25)

Commentators have wrestled with the source-critical problem of the complex lists of priests, Levites, singers, and gatekeepers in 1Chr 23-27, and have suggested different proposals: (1) that 1Chr 23-27 is a secondary post-Chronistic addition,¹⁰¹⁸ (2) that 1Chr 23-27 contains two layers of editions,¹⁰¹⁹ and (3) that 1Chr 23-27 comes from the Chronicler's hand.¹⁰²⁰ The most influential view is Williamson's, who argues that a pro-priestly reviser inserted portions into the Chronicler's original work (23:6b-13, 15-24; 25:1-6; 26:1-3, 9-11, 19, 20-32).

In contrast to Williamson, I believe that (3) is the best option. Firstly, Williamson's contrast between the Chronicler's arrangement of David's organisation and the twenty-four courses of allotment is overstated. He assumes that the random lot-casting for duties contradicted the rational planning of David, in which 25:1-6 heavily involves David but 25:7-31 does not.¹⁰²¹ This assumption is problematic because lot-casting in ancient times did not give random results but depicted the *ordered* decision of God (e.g. Josh 7; 1Sam 14).¹⁰²² If the Chronicler believes that the division of priests and Levites came from the heavenly template (1Chr 28:13),¹⁰²³ I

¹⁰¹⁸ Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 152; Noth, *Chronicler's History*, 14–15.

¹⁰¹⁹ Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 275–277; H.G.M. Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Course: A Study of 1 Chronicles 23-27," in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, FAT 38 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004), 126–140; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 444–447.

¹⁰²⁰ Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 260; John W. Wright, "The Legacy of David in Chronicles: The Narrative Function of 1 Chronicles 23-27," *JBL* 110 (1991): 220–242; Schniedewind, *Transition*, 165–170; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 406–411; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 55 n1; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 788–798.

¹⁰²¹ Williamson, "Origins," 128–131.

¹⁰²² Joh. Lindblom, "Lot-Casting in the Old Testament," *VT* 12 (1962): 170.

¹⁰²³ The division of priests and Levites in 1Chr 28:13, 21 presumes the existence of 1Chr 23-27 since they present the same subject matter with the *Leitwort* "division" appearing at 1Chr 23:6; 24:1; 26:1, 12, 19; 27:1-15. Cf. De Vries, "Moses and David," 631; Wright, "Legacy," 233.

cannot see any contradiction between lot-casting and David's organisation, because these two mediums were not competing systems but were mutually echoing.

Secondly, the ostensible doublet appearing in 23:2 and 28:1 might create a repetitive resumption for justifying the insertion of 1Chr 23-27. However, 28:1 is not a strict duplication of 23:2.¹⁰²⁴ For example, the gathering () in 23:2 involves only a small number of officials and temple personnel, while the assembly () in 28:1 includes a bigger convocation. Even though they are classified as resumption, this does not necessarily mean that 1Chr 23-27 is secondary, because repetitive resumption might reflect an authorial stylistic decision rather than an editorial insertion.¹⁰²⁵

Thirdly, the musicians performed under the directions of their fathers (25:2-3, 6). But this does not involve a contradiction with 25:9-31, because their fathers were controlled by David's directions, which allowed them to perform in harmony even though they did not follow their fathers in the twenty-four courses.

Fourthly, the name-list in 25:7-31 shows a considerable compatibility (albeit with slight discrepancies) to the list in 25:1-6.

Finally, 25:1-31 shows a coherent style and subject matter.¹⁰²⁶

Therefore, I ascribe the whole episode to the Chronicler's hand.

A2: The Composition of 2Chr 36:22-23

The "doublet" between 2Chr 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-3 has seen commentators puzzle over the direction of borrowing and the unity of 2Chr 36:22-23 with the rest of the Chronicler's work. If Ezra 1:1-3 borrows from 2Chr 36:22-23,¹⁰²⁷ it would not harm

¹⁰²⁴ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 792-793; Wright, "Legacy," 231.

¹⁰²⁵ Burke O. Long, "Framing Repetitions in Biblical Historiography," *JBL* 106 (1987): 385-399.

¹⁰²⁶ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 854.

¹⁰²⁷ Paul L. Redditt, "The Dependence of Ezra-Nehemiah on 1 and 2 Chronicles," in *Unity and Disunity in Ezra-Nehemiah: Redaction, Rhetoric, and Reader*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Paul L. Redditt, HBM 17 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), 229-231.

to the unity of Chronicles. If 2Chr 36:22-23 borrows from Ezra 1:1-3 (or from a third source),¹⁰²⁸ the Chronicler could integrate it into a coherent and intelligent whole, just as he handles his Samuel-Kings-*Vorlagen*. The direction of borrowing thus has almost no bearing on whether 2Chr 36:22-23 is secondary or not. Thus this section will not explore the direction of copying but instead will focus on investigating the latter problem. Some scholars have posited that 2Chr 36:22-23 is a later addition,¹⁰²⁹ or a very late editorial gloss in a redacted version.¹⁰³⁰ This provides the possibility that 2Chr 36:22-23 does not belong to the Chronicler's hand. Here, I focus on exploring the unity of 2Chr 36:22-23 from the internal evidence of the rest of the Chronicler's work.

First, Japhet explores the use of personal names in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles and affirms that Ezra-Nehemiah almost consistently uses a shorter ending (), while Chronicles uses both long () and short endings.¹⁰³¹ This provides a strong case that "it is impossible to deny the general tendency to use the long ending " that marks the difference between Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.¹⁰³² As for 2Chr 36:22, the name "Jeremiah" () is used with a long ending, while Ezra 1:1 uses a short ending (). This means that 2Chr 36:22 adheres to the general tendency of using the long ending as in the rest of Chronicles.

Redditt also observes that the name "Jeremiah" is more integral to the rest of Chronicles (four times in the last chapter) than Ezra (nowhere mentioned except Ezra 1:1).¹⁰³³ Kartveit even thinks that 2Chr 36:21 is constructed according to the Chronicler's integral composition of 2Chr 36:20, 22-23.¹⁰³⁴ But Williamson thinks

¹⁰²⁸ Riley, *King and Cultus*, 150–153; Williamson, *Israel*, 7–10; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 1062.

¹⁰²⁹ Williamson, *Israel*, 9.

¹⁰³⁰ De Vries, *Chronicles*, 11–13.

¹⁰³¹ Japhet, "Common Authorship," 339–341.

¹⁰³² *Ibid.*, 340–341.

¹⁰³³ Redditt, "Dependence," 229–230.

¹⁰³⁴ Magnar Kartveit, "2 Chronicles 36.20-23 as Literary and Theological 'Interface'," in *The Chronicler*

that a later interpolator would have assimilated the longer ending into 2Chr 36:22 when it is added later than the Chronicler.¹⁰³⁵ I admit that this is a possibility that cannot be entirely ruled out. But Williamson's position can at most produce a standoff and is not a compelling proof for arguing that the passage is a secondary addition.

Second, Kartveit contends that the genealogical portion of Chronicles (1Chr 1-9) provides a "land theology", insofar as the tribal settlements are portrayed as an anti-clockwise circle geographically moving around from Judah to Jerusalem. This pictures Jerusalem as the centre of all Israel, and 1Chr 9 further illustrates that the temple is the centre of Jerusalem. In reference to 2Chr 36:22-23, Kartveit further observes that there is a geographical depiction of the linkage among "the kingdoms of the earth", "Israel", "Jerusalem", and "the temple".¹⁰³⁶ As such, Kartveit arrives at the conclusion that this formulates "an inclusio connecting beginning and end."¹⁰³⁷

Furthermore, if my thesis is correct that the Chronicler incorporates the temple as realised template into his storyline, the Chronicler would have required a proper ending that could convey his conviction that the Jerusalem temple was the centre of the whole world. This matches the result of Kartveit, who argues that the theme "temple as the centre" occupies a crucial place in the Chronicler's introduction and conclusion. It is thus difficult to deny that 2Chr 36:22-23 is an integral portion of Chronicles that properly ends the whole narrative, so that "at the narrative level it is powerfully effective."¹⁰³⁸

In such an analysis, I may find myself accused of falling into the trap of

as Author: *Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 397–400.

¹⁰³⁵ Williamson, *Israel*, 9.

¹⁰³⁶ Kartveit, "Interface," 401–402.

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid., 402.

¹⁰³⁸ R.J. Coggins, "Theology and Hermeneutics in the Book of Chronicles," in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament Interpretation in Honour of Ronald E. Clements*, ed. Edward Ball, JSOTSS 300 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 268.

circularity, in that I used 2Chr 36:22-23 to argue for the Chronicler's heaven-and-earth dimension (cf. Section 4.2.1.1), while here I use the Chronicler's temple as realised template to argue for the unity of 2Chr 36:22-23. However bringing in the argument of Kartveit can effectively break this circularity insofar as 2Chr 36:22-23 not only supports the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template but also formulates an *inclusio* between the introduction and the conclusion. In this way, it would be harder for Chronicles to function theologically if we leave out this theologically important closure.

Finally, Williamson thinks that 2Chr 36:23 ends abruptly and unnaturally with “let him go up” (),¹⁰³⁹ which provides another counter-argument to the disunity of 2Chr 36:22-23. There is, however, no need to conjecture and hypothesise here why this last sentence ends “abruptly” compared to the more elaborated sentence in Ezra 1:3. As I have shown (cf. Section 4.2.1.1), we can read symbolically to designate those people who “ascend” to rebuild the temple cult. It is precisely because here “go up” has no direct object that opens this interpretative possibility, and this statement, being seen in this light, ends the book of Chronicles in a symbolically powerful and beautiful manner. If we have at least one probable explanation for this “abrupt” ending, why should we give preference to the position that 2Chr 36:23 is a secondary addition?

As a result, I ascribe 2Chr 36:22-23 to the Chronicler's hand.

¹⁰³⁹ Williamson, *Israel*, 9.

Appendix B: Glossary

Area TA	An excavation area near the temple of Enlil in Nippur.
Ashurbanipal	A Neo-Assyrian king, the son of Esarhaddon (668-627 BCE). He is probably the last strong king in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. He is famous for his establishment of the library of cuneiform documents in his palace at Ninevah.
Ea (or Enki)	The patron deity of Eridu, a god of wisdom, whose sacred number is 40.
Edubba	Scribal school in the familial form of father-son apprenticeship in the Old Babylonian period.
Enlil	The patron deity of Nippur whose sacred number is 50.
Enlil-bani	The tenth king in Isin I Dynasty (1860-1837 BCE).
Enlil-bani hymn A (Eb-A)	An Old Babylonian hymn of Enlil-bani, King of Isin, for scribal education.
En ma eliš	A famous Babylonian creation myth with multiple versions in different periods (from the Old Babylonian period to the Neo-Babylonian period).
Erra	A god of pestilence and plague.
Erra and Ishum	A famous poem written by Kabti-ilani-Marduk in the eighth century BCE describing how Erra persuades Marduk to leave his dwelling and then destroys it.
The Examination Text A	A group of Neo-Assyrian texts describing an examination between a supervisor and a scribe.
Father and His Perverse Son	A Sumerian Composition showing a dialogue between a father and a son.
Gudea of Lagash	A Sumerian king in Lagash (2141-2122 BCE).
House F	A small domestic house in the middle of Nippur 250 metres south of the temple of Enlil.
Iddin-Dagan	The third king in Isin I Dynasty (1974-1954 BCE).
Iddin-Dagan hymn B (Id-B)	An Old Babylonian hymn of Iddin-Dagan, King of Isin, for scribal education.
Inanna	A Sumerian goddess of fertility, love, sex, and war.
Išme-Dagan	The fourth king in Isin I Dynasty (1953-1935 BCE).
Ishtar	The goddess of love, war, fertility, and sex.
Lipit-Eštar	The fifth king in Isin I Dynasty (1934-1924 BCE).

Lipit-Eštar Hymn B (Li-B)	An Old Babylonian hymn of Lipit-Eštar, King of Isin, for scribal education.
Marduk	The patron deity of Babylon.
Nanaar	A bull god.
Nanshe	Enki's daughter, a goddess of social justice, water, fertility, and prophecy.
Nin irsu (or Ninurta)	The god of Lagash, the son of Enlil.
Ninlil (or Sud)	The consort goddess of Enlil.
Nisaba	The Sumerian goddess of writing, learning, and the harvest.
Nisaba hymn A	An Old Babylonian hymn of Nisaba, a goddess, for scribal education.
Šamaš	The Babylonian sun-god.
Shulgi	A Sumerian king in Ur III Dynasty (2094-2047 BCE).
The Atra has Epic	A famous Mesopotamian epic with multiple versions in different periods (from 18 th century BCE to the first millennium BCE) that includes a creation myth and a Babylonian deluge story.
The Decad	A name given to the standardized sequence of ten compositions used in the scribal curriculum in the Old Babylonian <i>edubba</i> .
The Gilgamesh Epic	The literary history of Gilgamesh, king of Uruk. It enjoys an early and long survival history from the eighteenth century BCE to the seventh century BCE.
The Papulegarra Hymn	A cultic hymn to Papulegarra dated in 2000 – 1500 BCE
The Tetrad	A name given to the standard sequence of the introductory level of four compositions used in the scribal curriculum for learning Sumerian grammar in the Old Babylonian <i>edubba</i> .

Appendix C: Mesopotamian Texts

C1: A Letter from Marduk-š pik-z ri (Lines 36-50)¹⁰⁴⁰

This is a letter written by Marduk-š pik-z ri to prove himself in front of the great Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal, showing that he was qualified in terms of a skilfull mastery of Mesopotamian traditions and scribal educations. The section selected here (extracted from Parpola's transliteration and translation) describes the multi-functional capacity of this scholar, which can somewhat help us to understand the ideal of a well-trained scholar. Besides, he introduced himself as one of the able scholars who fitted for royal services, and identified himself as one of those elite professionals who were trained with various scholarly disciplines or career-tracks, such as scribes, chanters, exorcists, haruspices, and physicians.

Akkadian Transliteration	English Translation
36 <i>a-ta-mar a-na EN LUGAL.ME[Š EN-i]á lu-uš-pu-ra ʾdul-la šá AD-iá ʾ</i>	36 I fully master my father's profession, the discipline of
37 <i>ka-lu-ú-tu ug-da[m-mir-ma i]š-ka-ru un-der-ri-ir</i>	lamentation; I have studied and chanted the Series. I am competent in
38 <i>az-za-mur ina ŠÀ-bi [x x x x]x mi-is-pi-i tak-pir-ti</i>	[...], 'mouth-washing,' and purification of the palace [...]. I have
39 <i>É.KUR a-le-ʾ [e-e x x x x]x UZU DI GIG un-der-ri-ir</i>	examined healthy and sick flesh.
40 <i>1 UD-AN-^{d+}EN.LÍL [x x x x al-t]a-si MUL.MEŠ AN-e u -ʾ ab¹-bi</i>	40 I have read the (astrological omen series) <i>En ma Anu Enlil</i> [...] and
41 <i>BE-iz¹-bu¹ [x x x (x) 1 ALAM.DÍ]M-mu-ú 1 NÍG.DÍM.DÍM-mu-ú</i>	made astronomical observations. I have read the (anomaly series) <i>Šumma</i>
42 <i>x[x x x x x x x 1 URU-i]na-SUKUD-GAR al-ta-si</i>	<i>izbu</i> , the (physiognomical works) [<i>Kataduqqû</i> , <i>Alandi</i>]mmû and <i>Nigdimdimmuû</i> , [...] and the (terrestrial

¹⁰⁴⁰ Extracted from line 36-50: Parpola, *Letters*, 122.

		omen series) <i>Šum]ma lu</i> .
43	[x x x x x x x x x x a]l-mad ina GIŠ.MI LUGAL EN-ia	43 [All this I lear]ned [in my youth]. Under the aegis of the king, my lord, I
44	[x x x x x x x x x x]-e-a ug-dam-mir ù	have perfected my [...], and [.....]. I am competent in the profession of my
45	[x x x x x x x x x x du]l-lu šá AD-ia a-le- 'e-e	father; [let the lord of kings] do [.....].
46	[x x x x x x x x x x]x li-pu-uš	
47	[x x x x x x x LÚ.ŠAMÁ.LÁ.MEŠ š]á it-ti-ia li-gìn-nu [x x x x x x x il]-su-ú 'i'-ba-áš-ši ina ŠÀ-bi-šú-nu	47 Among the [..... apprentices] who studied with me [in], there are [.....] who [have returned] from
48	[x x x x x x x x x x]-áš-šú šá ul-tu KUR.NIM.MA.KI	Elam, [scribes, chanters], exorcists, haruspices, and physicians; [I shall
49	[x x x LÚ.DUB.SAR.MEŠ LÚ.UŠ.KU.MEŠ L]Ú.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ LÚ.HAL.MEŠ LÚ.A.ZU.ME	gather them] and give them [to the king], my lord.
50	[ú-šá-a -bat-ma a-na LUGAL E]N-ia a-nam-din	

C2: The Examination Text A (Line 24)¹⁰⁴¹

This text shows many examination questions put to pupils who took part into scribal education in the Neo-Assyrian period, and provides an overview of the scribal curriculum of the schools in the first millennium BCE. Sjöberg edits this text from eleven texts found in the library of King Ashurbanipal, one from Babylon, and one from Uruk. The section selected here comes from her editing, and shows that music was clearly one of the important elements inside the scribal school.

	Akkadian Transliteration	German Translation
24	[šir-nam-nar(?) šir-nam- x x x šir-nam-gala šir-nam-en-na ši-nam-uru-na[šir-nam-gi-na x x x ki-ru-g]ú šid gul-la ì-zu-ù [šir-nam x-x-ke ₄ šir-nam-x x]-ne-ki	Kennst du [den namnar(?)-Gesang, den nam-...-Gesang], den namgala-Gesang, den nam'ena-Gesang, den nam'uruna-Gesang, den

¹⁰⁴¹ Extracted from Sjöberg, "Examenstext A," 142–143.

<i>šir-nam-gala-ke₄ šir-n[am-en-na-k]e₄</i>	namgina-[Gesang], das Aufteilen
<i>[šir-nam]-ú-ru-na-ki</i>	(eines Gesanges) in seine
<i>[šir]-nam-gi-na-ke₄¹ pir-si-šú-nu²</i>	(verschiedenen) Teile, [...], den
<i>pa-ra-su[...] mi-i -ra e-ni u ki-la³</i>	Gegengesang, die Rezitation, das
<i>ti-de-e</i>	Finale?

C3: A Hymn to Ishtar (Section xiv)¹⁰⁴²

This is a hymn to Ishtar, a Sumerian goddess, praising her body. The section extracted here is the last section of this hymn (Section xiv), indicating “Ea’s own word(s)” should be performed to her, in order to please her. Foster perceives this piece as dated in the classical period (2,000 – 1,500 BCE).

What she desires, this song for her pleasure

Is indeed well suited to his mouth,

He performed for her Ea’s own word(s).

When he heard this song of her praise,

He was well pleased with him,

Saying, “Let him live long, may his (own) king always love him. (Section xiv)

C4: *En ma eliš* (Tablet IV, lines 123-146; Tablet V, lines 117-130; Tablet VI, lines 39-68; Tablet VII, lines 145-162)¹⁰⁴³

This is a Babylonian version of *En ma eliš*, in which Marduk, the patron god of Babylon, advanced himself to the top of the Mesopotamian pantheon, and Babylon was promoted as the centre of the whole world. The sections extracted here depicts the concept of “counterpart” in understanding the Babylonian temple ideology, together with the ending of the whole composition. Foster perceives this piece dated in the mature period (1,500 – 1,000 BCE).

¹⁰⁴² Extracted from Foster, *Before the Muses*, 87.

¹⁰⁴³ Extracted from *Ibid.*, 461–462, 467–468, 470–471, 484–485.

Having captured his enemies and triumphed,
 Having shown the mighty(?) foe subservient(?),
 Having fully achieved Anshar's victory over his enemies,
 Valiant Marduk having attained what Nudimmud desired,
 He made firm his hold over the captured gods,
 Then turned back to Tiamat whom he had captured.
 The Lord trampled upon the frame of Tiamat,
 With his merciless mace he crushed her skull.
 He cut open the arteries of her blood,
 He let the North Wind bear (it) away as glad tidings.
 When his fathers saw, they rejoiced and were glad,
 They brought him gifts and presents.
 The Lord calmed down, he began inspecting her carcass,
 That he might divide(?) the monstrous lump
 And fashion artful things.
 He split her in two, like a fish for drying,
 Half of her he set up and made as a cover, heaven.
 He stretched out the hide and assigned watchmen,
 And ordered them not to let her waters escape.
 He crossed heaven, he inspected (its) firmament,
 He made a counterpart to Apsu, the dwelling of Nudimmud.
 The Lord measured the construction of Apsu,
 He founded the Great Sanctuary, the likeness of Esharra.
 (In) the Great Sanctuary, (in) Esharra,
 Which he built, (and in) heaven,
 He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in their holy places. (Tablet IV, lines 123-146)

Marduk made ready to speak and said
 (These) words to the gods his fathers,
 "Above Apsu, the azure dwelling,
 "As a counterpart to Esharra, which I built for you,
 "Below the firmament, whose grounding I made firm,
 "A house I shall build, let it be the abode of my pleasure.
 "Within it I shall establish its holy place,
 "I shall appoint my (holy) chambers,
 I shall establish my kingship
 "When you go up from Apsu to assembly,
 "Let your stopping places be here, before your assembly.

“When you come down from heaven to [assembly],
“Let your stopping places be there to receive all of you.
“I shall call [its] name [Babylon],
 Houses of the Great Gods,
“We shall all hold fe[stival]s with[in] it.” (Tablet V, lines 117-130)

Marduk the king divided the gods,
The Anunna-gods, all of them, above and below,
He assigned to Anu for duty at his command.
He set three hundred in heaven for (their) duty,
A like number he designated for the ways of the netherworld:
He made six hundred dwell in heaven and netherworld.
After he had given all the commands,
And had divided the shares of the Anunna-gods
 of heaven and netherworld,
The Anunna-gods made ready to speak,
To Marduk their lord they said,
“Now, Lord, you who have liberated us,
“What courtesy may we do you?
“We will make a shrine, whose name will be a byword,
“Your chamber that shall be our stopping place,
 we shall find rest therein.
“We shall lay out the shrine, let us set up its emplacement,
“When we come (to visit you), we shall find rest therein.”
When Marduk heard this,
His features glowed brightly, like the day,
“Then make Babylon the task that you requested,
“Let its brickwork be formed, build high the shrine.”
The Anunna-gods set to with hoes,
One (full) year they made its bricks.
When the second year came,
They raised the head of Esagila, the counterpart to Apsu,
They built the upper ziggurat of Apsu,
For Anu-Enlil-Ea they founded his ... and dwelling.
He took his seat in sublimity before them,
Its pinnacles were facing toward the base of Esharra.
After they had done the work of Esagila,
All the Anunna-gods devised their own shrines. (Tablet VI, lines 39-68)

They must be grasped: the “first one” should reveal (them),
 The wise and knowledgeable should ponder (them) together,
 The master should repeat, and make the pupil understand.
 The “shepherd,” the “herdsman” should pay attention,
 He must not neglect the Enlil of the gods, Marduk,
 So his land may prosper and he himself be safe.
 His word is truth, what he says is not changed,
 Not one god can annul his utterance.
 If he frowns, he will not relent,
 If he is angry, no god can face his rage.
 His heart is deep, his feelings all encompassing,
 He before whom crime and sin must appear for judgment.
 The revelation (of the names) which the “first one”
 discoursed before him (Marduk),
 He wrote down and preserved for the future to hear,
 The [wo]rd of Marduk who created the Igigi-gods,
 [His/Its] let them [], his name let them invoke.
 Let them sound abroad the song of Marduk,
 How he defeated Tiamat and took kingship. (Tablet VII, lines 145-162)

C5: Tablet V of Erra and Ishum (Lines 39-61)¹⁰⁴⁴

Erra and Ishum is a poetic narrative dated in the eighth century BCE describing Erra’s plan and actions to persuade Marduk to leave his dwelling place in Babylon, in order to destroy it with violence. The section extracted here belongs to the end of Tablet V of Erra and Ishum. The poet introduces himself with his name and indicates to his reader that this poetic narrative was approved and revealed by Erra.

Praise to the great Lord Nergal and warrior Ishum for years without number!
 How it came to pass that Erra grew angry and set out to lay
 waste the lands and destroy their peoples,
 But Ishum his counselor calmed him and left a remnant,
 The composer of its text was Kabti-ilani-Marduk, of the family Dabibi.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Extracted from Ibid., 910–911.

He revealed it at night, and, just as he (the god?)
 had discoursed it while he (K.) was coming awake,
 he (K.) omitted nothing at all,
 Nor one line did he add.
 When Erra heard it he approved,
 What pertained to Ishum his vanguard satisfied him.
 All the gods praised his sign.
 Then the warrior Erra spoke thus,
 “In the sanctuary of the god who honors this poem, may abundance accumulate,
 “But let the one who neglects it never smell incense.
 “Let the king who extols my name rule the world,
 “Let the prince who discourses the praise of my valor have no rival,
 “Let the singer who chants (it) not die from pestilence,
 “But his performance he pleasing to king and prince.
 “The scribe who masters it shall be spared in the enemy country
 and honored in his own hand,
 “In the sanctum of the learned, where they shall constantly invoke my name,
 I shall grant them understanding.
 “The house in which this tablet is placed,
 though Erra be angry and the Seven be murderous,
 “The sword of pestilence shall not approach it, safety abides upon it.
 “Let this poem stand forever, let it endure till eternity,
 “Let all lands hear it and praise my valor,
 “Let all inhabitants witness and extol my name.” (lines 39-61)

C6: Expiatory Rites for the “Farmer” (Lines 9-r.15)¹⁰⁴⁵

This is a letter written by a king’s exorcist, Adad-šumu-ušur, that indicates an arrangement of expiatory rites for the “farmer” in the Neo-Assyrian period.

	Akkadian Transliteration	English Translation
9	<i>dul-l[i]-in-[nī]</i>	9 We have rites to perform ton[ight]: I
10	<i>ú-ma-a ina nu¹-[bat-ti]</i>	shall perform one against “Loss of
11	<i>i-ba-aš-ši</i>	Flesh,” and Urad-Ea another one
12	<i>a-na-ku šá ha-liq-ti UZU¹</i>	before Enlil. We shall go to the <i>qirsu</i> .
13	<i>[^m]ARAD-^dÉ.A</i>	

¹⁰⁴⁵ Extracted from Parpola, *Letters*, 169.

- r.1 [š]á' [p]a'-an^{d+}EN.LÍL
 r.2 né-pa-aš
 r.3 ina qi-ir-si
 r.4 ni-el-lak
 r.5 dul-lu šá É' -[r]i' -[in-ki]
 r.6 it- 'ti-ma' -li e-ta-pa-áš
 r.7 ma-qa-lu-tú aq- u-lu
 r.8 tak-pir-tú nu-us-se-ti-iq
 r.9 a-na LÚ.UŠ.KU šá an-na-ka
 r.10 LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ is-se-šú
 r.11 ap-ti-qi-id è-e-mu
 r.12 as-sa-ak-an-šu
 r.13 mu-uk 6 UD-me šam-hír
 r.14 tak-pir-tú da-at an-ni-e
 r.15 tu-še-ta-qa

r.5 Yesterday I performed the ritual of *Bit[r]i[mki]*. I made a burnt-offering and we executed a purification ritual.

r.9 I have appointed an exorcist for the chanter who is here, and gave him the following orders: “For six days do likewise, performing the purification ritual after this (fashion).”

C7: Ritual to be Followed by the *kal* -priest when Covering the Temple Kettle-Drum
 (Text A, section (ii), lines 1-36 and the Colophon)¹⁰⁴⁶

This is a ritual text from the Seleucid period in Uruk that describes a very complex ritual procedure of purification, burnt-offering, and musical performance. This text is transcribed and translated by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 10ff and is quoted in *ANET*.

Although this text is extracted from the text of the Seleucid period, the practice of the temple kettle-drum can be traced to the Neo-Assyrian period as indicated in Text B-D in *ANET*, 334-338. This copy in the Seleucid period would have been copied from older Babylonian texts.

(ii) On (the bricks) you shall lay twelve (pieces of) linen. On them you shall seat all twelve gods. You shall lift up the *egubb* -vessel of the deity Ningirim and with its water you shall clean the equipment prepared for the ceremony. You shall sprinkle some (aromatic?) barley seed. You shall set up the kettle-drum. (5) You shall lay a

¹⁰⁴⁶ Extracted from *ANET*, 335-336.

brick for the deity Lumha. You shall set up a stand. You shall slaughter a sheep. You shall offer the thigh, ..., and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk. Before these (gods) you shall place water. You shall draw a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk. Before these (gods) you shall place water. You shall draw the curtains shut. On the bull you shall perform the rite of Washing the Mouth. You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's right ear the incantation entitled "*Gugal guma u kiuš kuga.*" (10) You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's left ear the incantation entitled "*Alpu ilittu Z att ma.*" You shall besprinkle the bull with cedar *resin*. You shall purify the bull, using a brazier and a torch. You shall draw a ring of *zissurra*-flour around the bull. Standing at its head, you shall sing (the composition called) "*Nitugki niginna*" to the accompaniment of a bronze *al allatu*. (15) After that, you shall recite (the composition entitled) "*Dimmer ... ankia mundimma.*" Then you shall cut open that bull and start a fire with cedar. You shall burn the bull's heart with cedar, cypress, and *ma atu*-flour before the kettle-drum. You shall remove the tendon of its left shoulder and shall bury the body of that bull (wrapped) in a single red ... cloth. (20) You shall throw some *gunnu*-oil on it (and) arrange it so that its face points to the west. You shall take the hide of that bull and dip it in fine flour made from clean barley, in water, prime beer, (and) wine. You shall then lay it in the pure fat of a bull and aromatic ingredients, (taken) from the hearts of plants, with four *qa*-measures of ground malt, four *qa*-measures of *bitqa*-flour, (and) one (*qa*-measure?) of ... (25) You shall press (it) with gall-nuts and alum from the land of the Hittites. (With it) you shall cover the bronze kettle-drum. On it you shall stretch a linen cord. Drum-sticks (or pegs?) of *musukannu*-wood, ...-wood, cedar, and *ušu*-wood, and all the rest of the *drum-sticks* (of?) *maštu*-wood for the bronze kettle-drum you shall *cover* with *varnish*. (30) With the tendon of (the bull's) left shoulder you shall ... its *opening*. You shall bury the ... You shall make preparations for a sacrifice to the god Lumba. You shall sacrifice a sheep and shall offer the thigh, the ..., and *roasted* meat. (35) You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk. ...

(Colophon:) Ritual of the *kal* -priest. Tablet belonging to Anuahaidin, the son of Rihatanu, the *kala-ma u*-priest of the deities Anu and Antu, citizen of Uruk. It was copied from an old(er) tablet, checked, and rechecked.

C8: The Nanshe Hymn (Lines 32-46)¹⁰⁴⁷

This is an Old Babylonian Sumerian hymn, depicting how Nanshe chose Ninâ in the Lagash region with her temple Siratr built there. The section selected here illustrates how the famous temple builder Gudea of Lagash, appointed as a high priest, stationed and organised a musical cult for Nanshe with different sorts of musical instruments.

The queen had felt urged to make the appropriate brickwork appear.
Nanshe (thus) had been able to have Lagash spread the hands wide on the abundance
She (now) felt urged to envision in the holy heart a high priest,
she seated with her on the throne dais Nanshe's lion,
 the beloved high priest of Lagash,
and granted august scepter to the shepherd.
Gudea perfected for her all her precious sacred offices.
Her shepherd, envisioned in the holy heart,
Gudea, ruler of Lagash.
stationed among the *tigi* strings the princely, sweet sounding, tambourines, (40)
stationed with them holy harps, and to the holy chants and the antiphons
 he had performed for her
lyres were giving praise unto the house,
whilst out from amid them a chief musician was sounding for her the shofar horn.
Since she had deemed fit to allot to the house sacred rites from Apsû,
he sang at its sacred princely rites the latter's holy chants in Siratr's courtyard.

C9: Hymn to Inanna (Lines 36-44)¹⁰⁴⁸

This hymn was written at the time of Iddin-Dagan, the third king of Isin I Dynasty, for the annual rite of the sacred marriage of Inanna with the king. The section selected here presents the military role of Inanna to fight for a celestial battle, and celebrates

¹⁰⁴⁷ Extracted from Jacobsen, *Harps*, 128–129.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Extracted from *Ibid.*, 115.

her as a goddess of war and victory. Musical instruments played a crucial role in helping Inanna to fight for the battle.

Algar-instruments, silver inwrought, they are beating for her,
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
Holy tambourines and holy kettledrums they are beating for her
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading – (40)
The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
Holy harps and holy kettledrums they are smiting for her,
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
The oldest child of the Moon, Inanna, I will hail! (lines 36-44)

C10: The Gudea Cylinder A (Section vii, Lines 2-8; Section ix, Lines 5-10)¹⁰⁴⁹

The Gudea Cylinder A is a famous cylinder depicting how Nin irsu had revealed to Gudea, the famous temple builder, in a dream a template for building the temple of Nin irsu. It contains three parts. First, the building project was permitted by Enlil. Second, Gudea received the template from a dream. Third, the actual realisation was operated. The sections selected here belong to the second portion of the cylinder. Nanshe prophesied that Nin irsu will reveal the design of his temple to Gudea due to Gudea's obedience. Later, Nin irsu did respond Gudea's prayer by reaffirming Gudea's role of temple building, and giving him directions for building the temple. In section ix, lines 9-10, Nin irsu promised to give Gudea "signposts" with "pure stars", "indicting the times for the various rites of the temple."¹⁰⁵⁰

Nanshe's prophecy (section vii, lines 2-8):

...

"then he will accept from you your slightest word as weighty;

¹⁰⁴⁹ Extracted from Ibid., 396, 399.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ibid., 399 n44.

the heart of the lord, unfathomable as inmost heaven,
of Nin irsu, son of Enlil, will become appeased for you;
he will reveal to you the design of his house,
and the warrior will hail for you
his offices, all great.”

...

Nin irsu’s response (section ix, lines 5-10):

...

Next, for the sleeper, for the sleep,pr,
at the head he stood, was briefly touching him:
“O you who are to build for me, O you who are to build for me,
ruler who are to build for me my house,
Gudea – for building my house let me give you the signposts
and let me tell you the pure stars above, (the heralds) of my appointed tasks ...

C11: Ritual for the Repair of a Temple (Text B, reverse)¹⁰⁵¹

This ritual text consists of two texts (Texts A and B) that comes from Uruk in the Seleucid period. Text C comes from Babylon, probably a century earlier. Although this ritual text comes from the Hellenistic period, it is probably a copy of older tablets. The section extracted here comes from Text B (reverse), showing the ritual procedure of *kalû*-priests during the foundation-laying of a temple.

(The above is) a tablet (describing) what is required of the *kalû*-priests.

When the foundations of a temple collapse, you shall open up the foundations in an auspicious month, on a favorable day. When you are laying the foundations of the temple, you shall prepare during the night five sacrifices for the deities Sin, Marduk, Ninmah, Kulla, and Ninshubur. You shall sacrifice the sheep, strew some (aromatic?) barley seed of *all* (sorts?), start a fire, (and) make a libation of beer, wine, (and) milk. (5) You shall sing the lamentation (called) “*Uddam kimus*” and the lamentation (called) “*Umun barkugga*.” After this, you shall set up three sacrificial stands for the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple, (and) the household god of the temple. You shall light a fire, make some water available, (and) draw the curtains shut. Facing the

¹⁰⁵¹ Extracted from *ANET*, 341.

temple, you shall sing (the composition entitled) “*Ešab ungata*,” accompanied on the *al allatu*-instrument. After this, you shall prepare three sacrifices for the gods Anu, Enlil, and [Ea] in the morning. You shall sing the lamentations (called) “*Umunšermallašu ankia*” and “*Nitug niginam*.” (10) You shall sing (the composition entitled) “*Ud Ana Enlila Enki ankia mundimdimene*.” ... You shall remove the sacrificial accoutrements and shall lay the foundation until the temple is completed. You shall not interrupt making sacrifices and lamentations. Once the foundation is laid, you shall purify that place with purification rituals.

(The above is) the ritual of the *kalû*-priest.

(The next tablet of this series begins with the words:) (15) when the door-sockets are installed.

(Colophon:) Tablet belonging to Nidintuanu. (Written by) the hand of Anubelshunu, his son, the apprentice *kalû*-priest. (Dated at) Uruk, the month of Simannu, twenty-eighth day, the year eighty-one (of the Seleucid period, corresponding to 231 B.C.), Seleucus being the king.

C12: The Court of Nebuchadnezzar (iii 33 – v 29)¹⁰⁵²

This text comes from a prism unearthed in Babylon, and it describes the personnel in the Neo-Babylonian royal court of Nebuchadnezzar.

(iii 33 – v29)

I ordered the (following) court officials in exercise of (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite:

As *mašennu*-officials Nabuzeriddinam, the chief cook, Nabuzeribni, the chief armorer (Lord High Steward), [E]rib[...] in charge of the palace officials, Sinshar [ilani(?)], the major-domo, Atkal-ana-Mar-Esa-gila

(iv)

[the ...] (some names broken), Inaqibit-Bel [the ...], Bel-erish, the chief [...], Ardia, the *mašennu* of the “House-of-the-Palace-Women,” Beluballit, the secretary of the “House-of-the Palace-Women,” Silla, the chief master-of-*ceremonies*, Nabuahusur, the

¹⁰⁵² Extracted from *ANET*, 307-308.

chief of the engineers, Mushallim-Marduk, Nabu-ushibshi (and) Eribshu, the overseers (lit.: heads) of the slave-girls, Nabubelusur, overseer of the slave-girls, Nabuzeribni, the cupbearer, Nergalresua, the chief of the singers, Ardi-Nabu, the *sipiru* –official of the crown prince, Eaidanni, the chief of the cattle, Rimutu, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharriusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants;

(and as) the officials of the country Akkad (i.e. Babylon): Eadaian, the governor of the Sea (-Country), Nergalsharusur, the *Sîn-magir*, Emuqahi(?), (the governor) of Tupliash, Belshumishkun (the governor) of Puqudu, Bibbea, the Dakkurean, Nadinahi, the “official” of Der, Marduksharusur (the governor) of Gambulu, Marduksharrani, the district officer of Sumandar, Belidarum, the Amuqean, Rimutu, the regular governor of Zame, Beletirnapshate, the governor of Iaptiru, the “official” of

(v)

..., Mushezib-Bel, the “official” of ...,

(and as) the “officials”: Shumkenum, the “official” of the town Dur-[Iakin], Bania, the “official” of the town Limetum, Mardukzeribni, the “official” of the town Matakallu, Shula, the “official” of the town Nimid-Laguda, Shuma, the “official” of the town Kullab, Nergalzeribin, the “official” of the town Udannum, Mardukerish, the “official” of the town Larsa, Nabukinapli, the “official” of the town Kissik, Belupahhir, the “official” of the town of Bakushu;

(and as) *qêpu* –officials of cities: Iba, the district officer of Dur-[...], Shalambili, the district officer of ..., Ziria, the district officer of ..., Zabina, the *qêpu* –official of ..., Shuma, the *qêpu* –official of ..., Adadahiddinam, the district officer of the town ..., Nabuzerukin (officer) of the country A [...], Anumepush, the *qêpu* –official of ..., Belshumishkun, the *qêpu* –official of the town N[i...];

(furthermore): the king of Tyre, the king of Gaza, the king of Sidon, the king of Arvad, the king of Ashdod, the king of Mir [...], the king of ...

C13: UDAM KI AMUS: It Touches the Earth Like a Storm (lines 1-100)¹⁰⁵³

This *balag*-lament has been edited by Cohen:

It Touches the Earth Like a Storm

It touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
His word touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of great An touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Enlil touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Enki touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Asarluhi touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Enbilulu touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Muzebbasa touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Sheddukisharra touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of the lord Dikumaham touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable. (line 10)

His word, which causes the heavens to rumble above!
His word, which causes the earth to shake below!
His word, (at) which the Anunna-gods stumble!
His word has no diviner. It has no interpreter.
His word, a swelling flood, is unopposed.
His word causes the heavens to rumble, the earth to shake.
His word is a reed mat (in which) mothers wrap their children.
The word of the lord kills the reed bed in its pool.
The word of Asarluhi drowns the crops on their stalks.
The word of the lord is a swelling flood. It overwhelms... (line 20)
The word of Asarluhi is a flood. It destroys the quays.
His word fells the huge *mes*-trees.
His word, a storm turning (all) into ruins!
The word of Enlil rushes about. No one can see it.

His word! Woe, his word!
His word! The honored one! Woe, his word!

¹⁰⁵³ Extracted from Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*, 136–138.

Great An! Woe his word!
 Enlil! Woe his word!
 Enki! Woe his word!
 Hero Asarluhi! Woe his word! (line 30)
 Lord Enbilulu, heir of Enki! Woe his word!
 Hero Muzebbasa! Woe his word!
 Lord Dikumaham! Woe his word!
 Let me bring his word to the diviner and that diviner will lie.
 Let me bring his word to the interpreter and that interpreter will lie.
 His word afflicts a man with woe. That man moans.
 His word afflicts a young woman with woe. That young woman moans.
 As his word proceeds lightly, it destroys the land.
 As his word proceeds grandly, it destroys habitations (*var*: it kills people) (line 40)
 His word is a covered fermentation vat. Who may know what is inside it? (*var*: Inside it is whirling)
 His word, whose interior is unknown, its exterior tramples down (everything).
 His word, whose exterior is unknown, its interior tramples down (everything).
 His word causes men sickness. It weakens men.
 When his word drifts in the heavens, indeed the country is sick.
 When his word walks on the land, indeed the land is diminished.
 His word is a storm which chases (all) five out from a household of five.
 The word of Asarluhi chases (all) ten out from a household of ten.
 Above, his word hurries to me. Above, it causes grief.
 The word of Asarluhi is spoken below. Below, there is shaking. (line 50)
 At the sickness (inflicted) by the word, I moan.
 His word, which causes the heavens themselves to rumble above! Woe, his word!

As for me, ... Where can I go?

The honored one like the wind, like the wind,
 Like the wind, the eminent one knocks me down.
 The honored one, the lord of the lands,
 The unfathomable one, whose word is true,
 whoses orders no one can challenge,
 the honored one, Enlil, whose utterances are unalterable,
 is a storm which destroys the cattle pen, which tears out the sheepfold. (line 60)
 My roots are uprooted; my forests denuded.
 The Anunna-gods have altered my *me*'s which ...

His crows denude my forests.
Oh lord of the lands! You do not move about like mortal man.
You do not move about as I would.
You withhold sustenance from my belly.
You silence my liver and my heart.
For you there is none; for you there is no destruction.

Like a single planted reed, the honored one tramples me down like a single planted reed.

The honored one, the lord of the lands, (line 70)
The unfathomable one, whose word is true,
Whose orders no one can challenge,
Enlil, whose utterances are unalterable,
like the planted *shuppatu*-grass, like the planted *elpetu*-grass,
like a lone poplar planted on the shore,
like the comel planted on dry land,
like a lone tamarisk planted in a storm,
like a single planted reed the eminent one tramples me down.

At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
Your city Nippur! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word! (line 80)
The brickwork of the Ekur! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The Kiur, the great place! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The shrine Enamtila! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of Sippar! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The shrine Ebabbar! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of Tintir! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of the Esagil! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of Borsippa! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of the Ezida! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The Emahtila! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word! (line 90)
The Etemenanki! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The Edaranna! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!

At your word the heavens rumble.

The word of Enlil causes the earth to shake.

You, when your word is invoked in the heavens, ...

It is because of your word that a (normally) faithful ewe abandons its lamb.

It is because of your word that a (normally) faithful goat abandons its kid.

The (normally) faithful mother abandons her child.

The wife of the warrior has abandoned the little child, her (own) child. (line 100)

Appendix D: A Chronological Chart of Ancient Mesopotamia

BCE	Periods in Assyria and Babylonia	Periods in Israel
3,000		
2,500	Ur III Dynasty	
	Isin-Larsa Dynasty	
2,000	Old Babylonian	
	Kassite	
1,500	Middle Assyrian	
1,000		United Monarchy of Israel The Northern and Southern Kingdoms
	Neo-Assyrian	
	Neo-Babylonian	Fall of the Northern Kingdom
		Fall of the Southern Kingdom (The Babylonian Exile)
500	Achaemenid Persian	
	Seleucid	

Appendix E: A Synoptic Table of *En ma eliš* and Genesis¹⁰⁵⁴

<i>En ma eliš</i> I 1-5	Gen 1:1-2
When on high no name was given to the heavens , / Nor below was the earth called by name, / Apsû was the first (<i>r štu</i>), their progenitor, / And Tiamat (i.e. the sea), (<i>endowed with</i>) <i>creative spirit</i> (<i>mummu</i>), was she who bore them all, / They were mingling their waters together.	In the beginning (<i>b^e-r š t</i>) (when) God created the heavens and the earth , (but) the earth was (still) a formless void and darkness covered the face of the sea /the deep (<i>T^ehôm</i>), while God's spirit (or: a wind from god) swept over the face of the waters ...
<i>En ma eliš</i> VI 59-73	Gen 11:1-9
The Anunna gods set to with hoes, / One (full) year they made its bricks , / When the second year came, / They raised the head of Esagil (i.e., “house which raises (its) head”), the counterpart to Apsû, / They built the upper Ziggurat of Apsû ... / After they had done the work of Esagil ... / The Lord, on the Exalted Dais, which they built as his dwelling, / Seated the gods his fathers for a banquet, / “This is Babylon (<i>B b-il</i> , i.e., “gate of the gods”), your place of dwelling. / Take your pleasure there, <i>seat yourself</i> in its delights!”	Now the whole earth had one language and the same works. ... And they came upon a plain in the land of Shinar (Babylonia) and settled there. And they said to one another, “Come let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly.” ... Then they said, “Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its tops in the heaven .” ... (But) the Lord scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city. Therefore, it was called Babel , because there the Lord confused (Heb. <i>B lal</i>) the language of all the earth; and from there, the Lord scattered them abroad over the face of the earth.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Extracted from Frahm, *Babylonian*, 365–366. The highlights in bold are given by Frahm.

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